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ABSTRACT

Testimony on strategies designed to enhance educational opportunities for disadvantaged students is recorded in this report of a congressional hearing. Robert Slavin of the Early and Elementary School Program, Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore (Maryland) testified about the development and achievements of the Success for All Program. Leetta Allen-Haynes of the College of Education at the University of New Orleans (Louisiana) testified about the Louisiana Accelerated Schools, a program that works for disadvantaged students by, in part, trying to change the culture of schools themselves. The final witness was Sidney Smith, Headmaster of the Boston (Massachusetts) English High School, who testified about the program at his school and in particular the key role of rigorous student assessments for increasing academic achievement among disadvantaged students. Discussion followed the formal testimony and touched on the following issues: fostering family involvement in education, comprehensive social service delivery at school-sites, staff development and teacher education, financial resources, assessment driven practices, perceptions of urban students, educational technology, and school desegregation. The witnesses' prepared statements are included. (JB)

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HEARING ON INNOVATIVE APPROACHES FOR TEACHING DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, AUGUST 4, 1992

Serial No. 102-137

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HEARING ON INNOVATIVE APPROACHES FOR TEACHING DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1992

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 9:35 a.m., Room 2261, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dale E. Kildee, Chairman, presiding.

Members present: Representatives Kildee, Hayes, Owens, Reed, Roemer, Petri and Gunderson.

Staff present: S. Jefferson McFarland, legislative counsel; Thomas Kelly, legislative associate; Bessie Taylor, secretary/clerk; Susan Wilhelm, staff director; Lynn Selmser, professional staff member; June Harris, legislative specialist; and Jack Jennings, general counsel (Education).

Chairman KILDEE. The subcommittee will come to order. The subcommittee meets this morning to hear testimony on strategies designed to enhance educational opportunity for disadvantaged students. As a member of the Education and Labor Committee since 1977, I have attended numerous hearings on education. In that time I have not seen such a need or a desire on the part of schools in this country to really refine themselves as I do now.

Testimony presented to the subcommittee over the past year-and-a-half clearly indicate that schools are not only willing but anxious to implement educational practices that result in positive educational outcomes for all students. Congress generally, since the time of Lyndon Johnson, has provided dollars for specific programs for specific populations, and we are looking at something perhaps a little broader than that and also giving more flexibility than the programs that we designed to help students, and give that flexibility to school districts and schools.

Today we will hear about three innovative educational strategies currently operating in schools. As soon as he arrives, I will introduce our good friend and the ranking minority Republican member of the full committee and the ranking Republican member of this subcommittee, too, Mr. William F. Goodling of Pennsylvania, whose dedication to education is unsurpassed in this Congress.

Our panel today consists of Dr. Robert Slavin, Director of the Early and Elementary School Program at the Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students at Johns Hop-

kins University; and Miss Leetta Allen-Haynes of the College of Education at the University of New Orleans; and Mr. Sidney Smith, Headmaster at Boston English High School, America's oldest public high school.

I welcome all our witnesses here today, and if they would come forward to the first table here, we will start with Dr. Slavin. I always tell my fellow educators when they testify that in real life I was an educator, and I have taken this 28-year sabbatical in politics and I—my heart is still with education. I still love to get back in the classroom, and some of you who are in administration like to slip back in a classroom once in a while and enjoy that one-on-one with students.

Joining us is another very good friend of education, one who, like Mr. Goodling, seeks a consensus and seeks accommodation rather than confrontation in his subcommittee and also in the full committee, Mr. Steve Gunderson of Wisconsin.

Mr. Gunderson, do you have an opening statement?

Mr. GUNDERSON. Well, I appreciate your kind words and probably we ought to just stop there. Anything I say beyond that might get me in trouble, but I want to compliment you for holding the hearing. I think it becomes part of our beginning efforts at the reauthorization process next year. From that perspective, I think focusing on some of the most unique models that have been used to work with disadvantaged students is part of what I hope will be a real quote, unquote, "break-the-mold" from the perspective of doing what is necessary to really serve students who are disadvantaged and at-risk in our society. That has got to be the focus, I think, on the reauthorization next year.

My one plea to those on our panel who are testifying today is don't just focus on urban areas. We in the rural areas have disadvantaged students, too. We probably are more in need of some innovative approaches to serve populations equally needy with far less resources than even our urban areas, and so I want to extend a clarion call.

On this issue Dale and I might not totally agree because he comes from a much more urban area, but if we serve both areas, then I think we serve children and we would agree on that. So with that, Mr. Chairman, I look forward to the testimony.

Chairman KILDEE. I would really concur. My district is—I was going to say, is kind of a microcosm of America. Probably the new one is even more of a microcosm. I have two older industrial cities, Flint, Michigan, and Pontiac, Michigan, and then I have wealthy suburbs. Some of those—even some of those vote for me, however, and then I have agricultural areas also, so it is kind of a microcosm. Although, when I was back in the State legislature, State Representative Joseph Squallo, when we were doing our counterpart, Michigan counterpart to Chapter 1, played a major role in making sure we were sensitive to the more rural areas of Michigan, and had it not been for his role, I think we probably would not have been as sensitive. So we need the Gundersons on the committee to remind us of that.

Mr. Reed?

Mr. REED. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just want to join you in welcoming the panel, and I am sure they have more profound things to say than I have at the moment so I ask them to begin.

Chairman KILDEE. Very good. Our first witness, then, will be Dr. Slavin.

STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT SLAVIN, DIRECTOR OF EARLY AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAM, CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON EFFECTIVE SCHOOLING FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD

Mr. SLAVIN. Thank you. I think I would like to start my testimony here with a parable about a small rural town.

Mr. GUNDERSON. You got my attention.

Mr. SLAVIN. Once upon a time this small rural town was having a—or had been having for a long time a problem with typhoid and there were many children in the town who died or were damaged for life or very ill for long periods of time. One day an engineer came to town and said that—and proposed that the town might build a water treatment plant and this would completely solve the problem, but, of course, it was going to be expensive.

So the town council heard them out and then immediately said, well, that is impossible, this is too expensive, and more than just being expensive, it would take money away from all the treatment that we are providing to typhoid victims now, and secondly, it would serve children who don't actually have typhoid. Not everyone gets it. It is only about a quarter of the kids who get the disease, so for three-quarters the money would be wasted and, of course, they voted down the engineer's proposal.

I think it is easy to see that this town council was foolish, that allowing children to get typhoid and then intervening is inhumane, as well as not very cost-effective. But I hope you can see the analogy here to Chapter 1, to special education, and to other kinds of programs that we often provide for disadvantaged children and for at-risk children generally. We intervene too late after children have fallen behind.

We intervene too little. We provide minimal services over many years instead of providing intensive services to see that children actually are successful and can join their age mates in the mainstream.

We intervene with only a small portion of student's days. Still, despite all the changes that have taken place in Chapter 1, the vast majority of Chapter 1 programs are still pull-out programs, still only occupy 30 to 40 minutes of children's time. The rest of the day their instruction is unaffected.

And then over time we begin to group students and begin to think of them as fundamentally different and begin to talk about children who can make it and those that can't and so on, but the diversity among students in terms of performance, the students who are performing poorly, is something that did not have to be in the first place.

Now, what if we could think differently about the way we organize Chapter 1, special education and services for at-risk children generally? What if we could reduce the number of children who

would ever need remedial services or special education through effective preschool, kindergarten, parent involvement, effective instruction programs and so on? What if we could intervene early and effectively enough to make certain that every child reads, no matter what. This basically means using tutors, using what the middle class families do when their first or second or third grader is not reading, is to provide one-to-one tutoring to help children get on track quickly.

What if we could change the entire school and have very effective research based curricula that were used throughout the school, throughout the day so that children would be benefiting from effective services, not just during a 30- to 40-minute pull-out time, but during the entire day? What if we could provide family support services to see that children—that families are working collaboratively with the school to ensure the success of all their children? Essentially what I am talking about is, we now think it is possible, we have evidence from many different kinds of programs, to say that it is possible to build a floor under the achievement level of every child, to say that every child will read, every child can succeed at the basics in schools, to not only build a floor, but also to remove a ceiling, because all too many of our at-risk children wind up with little more than the basics even if they are very able.

These questions are the things that lead us to the development of the Success for All program that we have been working on now for many years. We began in Baltimore with this program. It currently exists in or is starting up in about 50 schools in 14 States, 23 districts, some of them rural, you will be pleased to know. Can't get more rural than Morton, Texas; Caldwell, Idaho; Berlin, Maryland. Perhaps you can, but it is hard to do. But most of them are places like Baltimore, Philadelphia, Flint, Michigan; and Memphis, places like that.

The idea of this program is to do whatever it takes to see that children do not fall between the cracks in the early grades, that they are successful no matter what. What this means is several things. One is that we provide one-to-one tutors for children who are having difficulty, particularly for first graders.

One of the things that is very clear is that children who fail to read in first grade, and there are a lot of them, not only disadvantaged children, incidentally, but children of all family backgrounds, a certain proportion of them fail to read in first grade and that experience is extraordinarily destructive for their entire school career.

It is preventable. It is fundamentally preventable. This is something that need not happen for any but the most retarded or disabled children. So providing one-to-one tutors to work for 20 minutes a day with children who, until they are able to participate with their regular classroom program without additional services, is something that is extraordinarily effective.

Another thing that we have done is to try to incorporate the best we could find from research in what is effective instruction in beginning reading and in reading beyond the basics. And I won't describe in detail how that operates unless you ask me questions about it, but what we tried to do is distill the best we knew from

research about how children learn to read initially and how they build on that initial basis.

We have also tried to implement effective strategies in preschool and kindergarten. This is extremely important to try to reduce the number of children who will need tutoring or other kinds of services in the early grades. We place a great deal of emphasis throughout the program incidentally on cooperative learning where children learn in small groups and help each other to master the school's curriculum.

Another key idea of the program is frequent assessment of children. We want to know when children are starting to get in trouble and to be able to intervene intensively at that stage instead of waiting for them to get in much greater trouble.

Another emphasis is on family support. This is absolutely essential. We need to have families supporting what is going on in the school and the school supporting what is going on in the family. This means being many things. It means trying to increase parent involvement in a variety of ways. It also means being able to deal with the issues of attendance, children with behavior problems, children with health problems, children with—need eyeglasses or have hearing problems.

In poor communities, the schools must be able to deal with these kinds of issues because nobody else will. Trying to have poor families shopping around for services in many different agencies to try to see that their children don't fall behind in the early grades is just not working, but if you have the school, have the staff and the capacity and the mission to see that children have these basic things, they have their inoculations, they have eyeglasses, they have a hearing aid, they are attending school, they—whatever family problems are occurring that are interfering with their success are being looked into, then you can have a great deal more success.

Also we are talking about a substantial emphasis on professional development. If you are going to affect children's success throughout the school day, you are going to have to throw out a lot of the curriculum and instructional methods that are not working with children, and this is a process of taking the existing staff that is within the schools and giving them the kind of not only workshops, not only curriculum materials, not only instructional methods, but follow-up and follow-up and follow-up in the school, in their classrooms, make major permanent changes in their teaching strategies.

Education only takes place between teacher and child. Everything else in the school, the principal, the buses, the buildings, only serves that relationship. If you are not affecting what happens between teacher and child, then innovation cannot be effective and so we provide a facilitator within each building to work with the teachers, to help teachers work with each other, and help solve each other's problems and to stick with kids, to look at kids as individuals and stick with them until they are succeeding and make sure that success extends throughout the elementary grades. So these are—that is a very quick overview of the elements of our Success for All model.

The way it actually plays out in different schools is different because we want—obviously, you are going to do something different in Morton, Texas, than you are going to do in inner-city Philadelphia because there are different problems, different resources, different circumstances, but the commonality to all of these programs is that we have a commitment to see that every child succeeds the first time they are taught, that children do not enter the remedial or special education pool except under the most extreme of circumstances, that we work relentlessly to see that success occurs. We use resources flexibly to stick with kids until they are making it.

Now, the program itself has been very effective. We have been studying it—each school in the program has a—or at least until recently, each school had a match comparison school and then individual children were matched within these schools and we followed the students' progress over time.

There is a one-page hand out that I hope you all got that summarizes the results in terms of reading for children over the—who have been in the program since first grade or earlier and, of course, this is across all of our different sites in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Memphis, and rural Berlin, Maryland. And what you can see from the graph, or if you—it is also in the testimony, the program has been very effective at each grade level, but the effects in terms of effect size, that is what ES stands for, are always greatest for the lowest-achieving students. So what we are doing is we are making a substantial difference for high-achieving, average-achieving students, but a particularly substantial difference for students who otherwise would have been the students who would be retained, who would end up in special education, who would be in Chapter 1 for many years and so on.

Our first cohort of students reached the third grade last year or finished the third grade last year, and we found that there were still some students in Success for All schools who were below grade level, who were 2 years below grade level, about 3.9 percent of them. But almost 12 percent of the students in the control groups were that far behind. This is the usual criterion for learning disabilities, for referral for testing for learning disabilities, is end of third grade, 2 years behind grade level.

We have been able to reduce retentions from about 11 percent to zero in our Baltimore schools, and this is extremely important. The retention is something that went up substantially in urban school systems around the country during the early 1980's. There was a large consequence of a lot of the educational reforms at that time. Higher standards meant flunking more kids. We have been able to show that providing students additional resources instead of an additional year in school is vastly more effective for students.

We have also been able to reduce the number of children who end up in special education by about half across all schools, and in schools that have taken that as a particular objective, by more than that.

So what we have been able to show with our program, and incidentally, again, there are other programs that have similar characteristics, particularly the Reading Recovery Program, Prevention of Learning Disabilities, which also uses one-to-one tutoring in first grade, basically been able to show that reading failure is unneces-

sary. This is something we can prevent and the policy consequences of doing so are quite dramatic.

Let me just trace for you a couple of these policy implications and particularly in relation to Chapter 1 since I know that is something that is on your minds, and if it isn't, it sure as heck should be because reauthorization is coming real soon.

First off, the Success for All program often operates in Chapter 1 schools that are not school-wide projects, but it is a lot harder to do in these schools. If you cannot use Chapter 1 resources flexibly, then you have to do a lot of dancing around the regulations to make this kind of a program operate. We need more flexibility. We need to have the criterion for school-wide projects reduced so that more—for example, to 50 percent of free lunch or less, to allow greater flexibility and use of resources.

The flexibility itself is not going to do it because a lot of school-wide projects have simply used their flexibility to reduce class size a little bit and have not changed the fundamental teaching and learning situation for most children.

We also need to have a substantial emphasis of Chapter 1 on staff development, on implementation of effective programs, so that the main thing that we think of a Chapter 1 school doing is not patching up the wounded after the battle, but making sure that the battle doesn't occur in the first place, that the fundamental school is operating to the maximum effectiveness it possibly can, and that is going to mean substantial emphasis on staff development throughout the school, not only of these children, but also those teachers who work with the identified Chapter 1 students.

Having this kind of staff development doesn't mean simply turning on a tap and there is going to be all kinds of wonderful workshops. It means that we have to build the capacity throughout the system to provide effective programs to schools. One thing this means is that we have to have a lot more research and development to be creating effective programs to ultimately be used in Chapter 1 schools. There are very few that have an adequate research base right now that schools could adopt, and trying to increase that number is essential.

I have proposed elsewhere that there be a 1 percent set-aside of Chapter 1 funds for research and development, specifically on developing effective programs for use in Chapter 1 schools, that 1 percent would make the rest of the 99 percent vastly more effective. I don't think there is any doubt about it.

There are many other changes that I could talk about, but I wanted to be brief. But I think those are the most essential, is making Chapter 1 more of a staff development program for schools serving disadvantaged children, rather than a program that primarily serves individually identified children after they have already gotten in big trouble, as well as trying to focus Chapter 1 further on early intervention and on broader services to children, including their families, and including their regular classroom teachers in all subjects, not only their pull-out teachers.

Many years ago, a decade ago, Ron Edmonds was telling us that every child can learn, and that is a typical beginning point of any kind of discussion that you hear about programs for disadvantaged children. We have to make this a reality. It is still true. Every

child really can learn. It is not easy, but it can be done, and I think we have to have policies that are consistent with the view that we must see that children learn from the beginning and never have an opportunity to fall behind, never need long-term remediation or special education services. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Slavin follows:]

Robert E. Slavin

Once upon a time there was a town that was having a serious health problem. Approximately 30% of the children in the town were coming down with typhoid and other diseases because of contaminated drinking water. The town council allocated millions to medical care for the typhoid victims, yet some of them died or were permanently disabled. One day, an engineer proposed to the town council that they install a water treatment plant, which would prevent virtually all cases of the disease. "Ridiculous!" fumed the mayor. "We can't afford it!" The engineer pointed out that they were already paying millions for treatment of a preventable disease. "But if we bought a water treatment plant," the mayor responded, "how could we afford to treat the children who already have the disease?" "Besides," added a councilman, "most of our children don't get the disease. The money we spend now is targeted to exactly the children who need it!" After a brief debate, the town council rejected the engineer's suggestion.

The town council's decision in this parable is, of course, a foolish one. From a purely economic point of view, the costs of providing medical services to large numbers of children over a long time were greater than the cost of the water treatment plant. More importantly, children were being permanently damaged by a preventable disease.

In education, we have policies that are all too much like those of the foolish town council. A substantial number of children fail to learn to read adequately in the early grades. According to the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP), 38% of all nine year olds cannot read at the "basic" level, considered a minimum requirement for success in school. Among African American nine year olds, 61% fall below the "basic" level (Mullis & Jenkins, 1990). Students who do not read in the early grades often end up in remedial programs (such as Chapter 1) or special education; many are retained in grade. Remediation, special education, and retention are all very expensive. In purely economic terms, preventing reading failure pays off quickly in reduced need for these interventions. More importantly, early reading failure causes major damage to children. Disadvantaged third graders who are reading a year or more below grade level have little chance of ultimately graduating from high school (Lloyd, 1978).

Each year, six million bright, enthusiastic children enter our nation's kindergartens. What would happen if we decided to provide every one of these children with the programs and resources necessary to ensure that *every* one in *every* school would reach the third grade on time with adequate reading skills, no matter what? If we decided that no child would need to be assigned to special education for a learning problem unless they were seriously handicapped? If we decided that no child would need to be retained in grade or relegated to long-term remedial services? How could we design an urban elementary school that simply refuses to accept the idea that even a single child will fail to learn to read?

These questions led to the development of Success for All, a comprehensive reorganization of the urban elementary school designed to use existing and additional resources in a coherent way to ensure the success of every child. This paper describes the Success for All program and its outcomes, and discusses the policy implications of a demonstration that reading failure can be prevented. Specifically, it addresses the policy implications of Success for All on questions of cost-effectiveness, compensatory education, and special education.

Success for All

Basic Principles

Our basic approach to designing a program to ensure success for all children begins with two essential principles: *Prevention* and *immediate, intensive intervention.* That is, learning problems must first be prevented by providing children with the best available classroom programs and by engaging their parents in support of their school success. When learning problems do appear, corrective interventions must be immediate, intensive, and minimally disruptive to students' progress in the regular program. That is, students receive help early on, when their problems are small. This help is intensive and effective enough to catch students up with their classmates so that they can profit from their regular classroom instruction. Instead of letting

students fall further and further behind until they need special or remedial education or are retained in grade, students in Success for All are given whatever help they need to keep up in reading and other basic skills.

Reading Tutors

One of the most important elements of the Success for All model is the use of tutors to promote students' success in reading. One-to-one tutoring is the most effective form of instruction known (see Slavin, Karweit, & Madden, 1989; Wasik & Slavin, 1990). The tutors are certified teachers with experience teaching Chapter 1, special education, and/or primary reading. Tutors work one-on-one with students who are having difficulties keeping up with their reading groups. The tutoring occurs in 20-minute sessions taken from an hour-long social studies period. In general, tutors support students' success in the regular reading curriculum, rather than teaching different objectives. However, tutors seek to identify learning problems and use different strategies to ensure progress.

During daily 90-minute reading periods, tutors serve as additional reading teachers to reduce class size for reading. Information on students' specific deficits and needs pass between reading teachers and tutors on brief forms, and reading teachers and tutors are given regular times to meet for purposes of coordinating their approaches with individual children.

Initial decisions about reading group placement and need for tutoring are made based on informal reading inventories given to each child by the tutors. After this, reading group placements and tutoring assignments are made based on eight-week assessments, which include teacher judgments as well as more formal assessments. First graders receive first priority for tutoring, on the assumption that the primary function of the tutors is to help all students be successful in reading the first time, before they become remedial readers.

Reading Program

Students in grades 1-3 are regrouped for reading. That is, students are assigned to heterogeneous, age-grouped classes with class sizes of about 25 most of the day, but during a regular 90-minute reading period they are regrouped according to reading performance levels into reading classes of 15 students all at the same level. For example, a 2-1 reading class might contain first, second, and third grade students all reading at the same level. For example, a 2-1 reading class might contain first, second, and third grade students all reading at the same level. Regrouping allows teachers to teach the whole reading class without having to break the class into reading groups. This greatly reduces the time spent in seatwork and increases direct instruction time, eliminating workbooks, dittos, or other followup activities which are needed in classes that have multiple reading groups. The regrouping is a form of the Joplin Plan, which has been found to increase reading achievement in the elementary grades (Slavin, 1987a).

Reading teachers at every grade level begin the reading time by reading children's literature to students and engaging them in a discussion of the story to enhance their understanding of the story, listening and speaking vocabulary, and knowledge of story structure. In kindergarten and first grade, the program emphasizes development of basic language skills with the use of Story Telling and Retelling (STaR), which involves the students in listening to, retelling, and dramatizing children's literature (Karweit, 1988). Big books as well as oral and written composing activities allow students to develop concepts of print as they also develop knowledge of story structure. Peabody Language Development kits are used to further develop receptive and expressive language.

Beginning reading is introduced in the second semester of kindergarten. In this program, letters and sounds are introduced in an active, engaging series of activities that begins with oral language and moves into written symbols. Once letter sounds are taught, they are reinforced by the reading of stories which use the sounds. The K-1 reading program uses a series of phonetically regular but meaningful and interesting minibooks and emphasizes repeated oral reading to partners as well as to the teacher, instruction in story structure and specific comprehension skills, and integration of reading and writing.

When students reach the primer reading level, they use a form of Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) (Stevens, Madden, Slavin, & Farnish, 1987) with the district's basal series. CIRC uses cooperative learning activities built around story structure, prediction, summarization, vocabulary building, decoding practice, and story-related writing. Students engage in partner reading and structured discussion of the basal stories, and work toward mastery of the vocabulary and content of the story in teams. Story-related writing is also shared within teams.

In addition to these basal story-related activities, teachers provide direct instruction in reading comprehension skills, and students practice these skills in their teams. Classroom libraries of trade books at students' reading levels are provided for each teacher, and students read books of their choice for homework for 20 minutes each night. Home readings are shared via presentations, summaries, puppet shows, and other formats twice a week during "book club" sessions. Research on CIRC has found it to significantly increase students' reading comprehension and language skills (Stevens et al., 1987).

Beginning in the second-year of the program implementation, Success for All schools usually implement programs in writing/language arts based primarily on cooperative learning principals (see Slavin, Madden, & Stevens, 1989/90, for a description of these methods). This program uses a structured writing process approach that teaches the students how to facilitate and respond to each others' writing.

Eight-Week Reading Assessments and Individual Academic Plans

At eight week intervals, reading teachers assess student progress through the reading program. The results of the assessments are used to determine who is to receive tutoring, to change students' reading groups, to suggest other adaptations in students' programs, and to identify students who need other types of assistance, such as family interventions or vision/hearing problems.

Preschool and Kindergarten

Many of the Success for All schools provide a half-day preschool and/or full-day kindergarten for eligible students. The preschool and kindergarten programs focus on providing a balanced and developmentally appropriate learning experience for young children. The curriculum emphasizes the development and use of language. It provides a balance of academic readiness and non-academic music, art, and movement activities in a series of thematic units. Readiness activities include use of the Peabody Language Development Kits and Story Telling and Retelling (STaR) in which students retell stories read by the teachers (Karweit & Coleman, 1991). Beginning Reading activities begin during the second semester of kindergarten or at the beginning of the first grade.

Family Support Team

One of the basic tenets of the Success for All philosophy is that parents are an essential part of the formula for success. A family support team works in each school, serving to make families feel comfortable in the school as well as providing specific services. In the high-resource schools, social workers, attendance monitors, and other staff are added to the school's usual staff. In moderate- and low-resource schools, the family support team consists of the Chapter 1 parent liaison, vice-principal (if any), counselor (if any), facilitator, and any other appropriate staff already present in the school. The family support team works to involve parents in support of their children's success in school. If contacts parents whose children are frequently absent to see what resources can be provided to assist the family in getting their child to school. Parenting education is provided for interested families. Family support staff, teachers and parents work together to solve school behavior problems. Also, family support staff are called on to provide assistance when students seem to be working at less than their full potential because of problems at home. Families of students who are not receiving adequate sleep or nutrition, need glasses, are not attending school regularly, or are exhibiting serious behavior problems, receive family support assistance.

Program Facilitator

A program facilitator usually an experienced and highly skilled teacher from within the school, works at each school to oversee (with the principal) the operation of the Success for All model. High resource schools have a full-time facilitator while moderate- and low-resource schools have half-time facilitators. The facilitator helps plan the Success for All program, helps the principal with scheduling, and visits classes and tutoring sessions frequently to help teachers and tutors with individual problems. He or she works directly with the teachers on implementation of the curriculum, classroom management, and other issues, helps teachers and tutors deal with any behavior problems or other special problems, and coordinates the activities of the family support team with those of the instructional staff.

Teachers and Teacher Training

The teachers and tutors are regular certified teachers. They receive detailed teacher's manuals supplemented by two days of inservice at the beginning of the school year. For teachers of grades 1-3 and for reading tutors, these training sessions focus on implementation of the reading program, and their detailed teacher's manuals cover general teaching strategies as well as specific lessons. Preschool and kindergarten teachers and aides are trained in use of the STaR and Peabody programs, thematic units, and other aspects of the preschool and kindergarten models. Tutors later receive an additional day of training on tutoring strategies and reading assessment.

Throughout the year, additional inservice presentations are made by the facilitators and other project staff on such topics as classroom management, instructional pace, and cooperative learning. Facilitators also organize many informal sessions to allow teachers to share problems and problem solutions, suggest changes, and discuss individual children. The staff development model used in Success for All emphasizes relatively brief initial training with extensive classroom followup, coaching, and group discussion.

Special Education

Every effort is being made to deal with students' learning problems within the context of the regular classroom, as supplemented by tutors. Special education resource services are still provided for students assigned to special education in previous years, but no new assignments to resource services are being made for reading problems, on the assumption that tutoring services available to all students will be more appropriate. Self-contained services for seriously handicapped students are being maintained for students whose needs cannot be met in the regular class.

Advisory Committee

An advisory committee composed of the building principal, Program Facilitator, teacher, and parent representatives, meet regularly to review the progress of the program and to identify and solve any problems that arise.

Results of Success for All

The effects of Success for All on students who begin the program in preschool, kindergarten, or first grade are extremely positive on individually administered tests of reading. Figure 1 shows the results (in average grade equivalents) after four years of Success for All one Baltimore elementary school and three years in four other schools. Nearly all students are African American and approximately 90% quality for free lunches. Effect sizes (the proportion of a standard deviation separating experimental and control groups) are also presented. Note that while Success for All students in general are far outperforming their counterparts in the control group, the effects are particularly dramatic for the students who started out in the lowest quarter of the sample in pretest scores. Significantly, only 3.9% of Success for All third graders who were in the program since first grade are currently performing two years below grade level, one traditional indication of learning disabilities in reading. In contrast, 11.7% of matched control students were two years or more below grade level (see Slavin et al., 1992, for more on the research design and findings).

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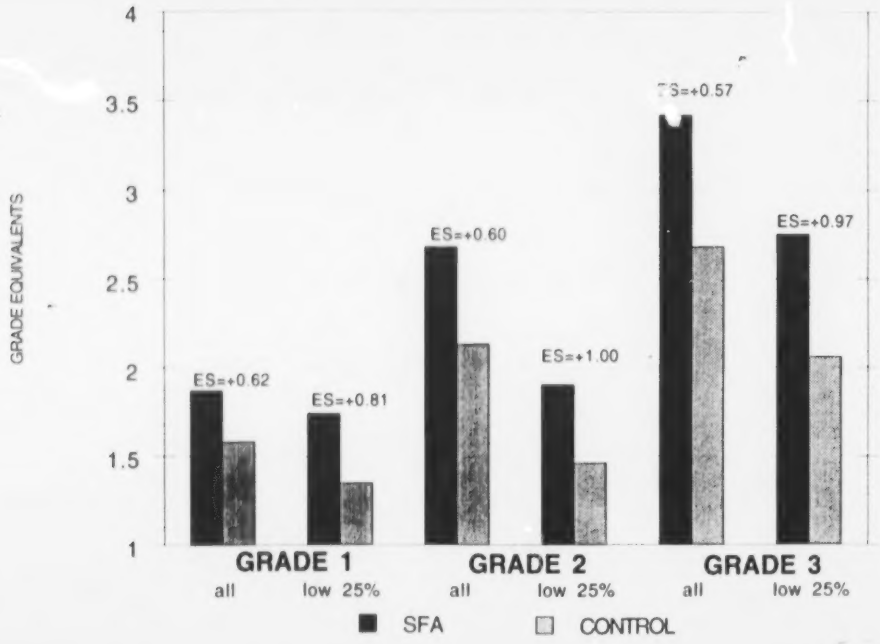
Figure 1
All Baltimore Success for All Schools: (Year 4)
Average Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes



Similar findings have been obtained for schools in Philadelphia, Memphis, and rural Maryland (Slavin et al., 1992). Special education referrals and assignments for learning disabilities have been reduced by about half in the five Baltimore schools. At a rural Maryland school where the main focus on the program is on providing alternatives to special education, referrals to special education have fallen from 22 to 6, and assignments have fallen from 12 to 3 in the first two years of Success for All (see Slavin & Madden, 1991).

In addition to increasing achievement and decreasing special education assignments, retentions in grade were reduced to near zero in all schools. In the Baltimore City schools, this reduction was from a pre-program mean of about 11% per year in grades K though 3.

The findings to date of the Success for All evaluations illustrate the potential of prevention and early intervention to keep students from falling far behind their agemates, to keep them from failing, and to keep them from being assigned to special education for learning disabilities. All of the Success for All schools serve very disadvantaged student populations; in particular, the Baltimore City schools experience problems with truancy, inadequate health care, parental poverty, drug involvement, and other problems at a level that is unusual even among urban schools. Yet in these schools, students are performing at or near national norms, and even the lowest achievers are well on their way to reading, are being promoted, and are staying out of special education.

Policy Implications of Success for All

Can Success for All be Replicated?

The practical or policy consequences of research on Success for All would be minimal if the program depended on conditions unlikely to be replicated in schools beyond our pilot sites. Yet this is certainly not true; the program currently exists in 50 schools in 15 states and is continuing to expand. Clearly, successful implementation of the program does not depend on the existence of hand-picked staff, charismatic principals, or proximity to Johns Hopkins. The 50 schools are highly diverse and are located in all parts of the country, from California to Idaho to Texas to Alabama to Indiana. This is not to say that every school serving disadvantaged students can successfully implement the program. It does require a clear commitment from the district, principal and staff to a very different way of organizing their schools. However, it is our belief and experience that with adequate support from their central administrations, the majority of elementary schools serving disadvantaged students want to implement a program like Success for All and are capable of doing so.

The most important impediments to the widespread use of Success for All are not any lack of willingness or skill on the part of school staffs but rather revolve around the cost of the program. Success for All is an expensive program. School districts which concentrate their Chapter 1 funds in their poorest schools can afford the program in such schools without additional expenditures; this is the case in Baltimore and Philadelphia, for example. Bringing in special education, state compensatory education, funding from settlements in desegregation or school finance suits, or bilingual education or ESL funding can also help support the program, and these funding sources are in fact supporting Success for All in many of its sites around the country.

The following section discusses several questions relating to the cost of Success for All. First is a discussion of what the costs are. This is followed by discussion of mid- to long-term savings brought about by the program, and a discussion of the effectiveness of Success for All in comparison to equally expensive alternatives.

Can We Afford Success for All?

The effectiveness of Success for All in ensuring that students succeed in the early grades is clear. The replicability of the program is equally clear; as noted earlier, 31 schools in twelve states are implementing the model and as many as 50 will be involved by the 1992-93 school year. However, Success for All is an expensive program. When it began at Abbottston Elementary School, it cost $400,000 in addition to the funds the school would have otherwise received, or

Table 1

Estimated Costs of Success for All with Varying Services

	High-need school		Moderate-need school		Low-need school	
	FTE	$	FTE	$	FTE	$
Facilitator	1.0	47,000	1.0	47,000	1.0	47,000
Tutors	5.0	235,000	3.0	141,000	2.0	94,000
Social Worker	1.0	47,000	0.5	23,500	---	
Parent Liaison	1.0	19,000	1.0	19,000	1.0	19,000
Attendance Aide	1.0	19,000	1.0	19,000	---	
Materials		15,000		15,000		15,000
Training: * Consultation		23,600		23,600		23,600
Total		$402,600		$285,100		$195,600
Add Preschool ** (@ $102,000)		$504,600		$387,100		$297,600
Add Full-Day ** Kindergarten (@ $135,000)		$639,600		$522,100		$432,600

* Includes training fees and travel, but not released time.

** Does not include space, furniture, basic supplies.

Note: Costs are estimated using 1991 estimates, with salaries plus benefits for teachers at $47,000, aides $19,000.

$800 per student. It is important to note that this is less than the difference in per-pupil cost between Baltimore City and the rest of Maryland, so rectifying this funding imbalance would make it possible for every school in the city to implement Success for All. However, this is unlikely to occur any time soon. Given the realities of school funding, how can the program be funded? Are all of the elements (and therefore costs) equally essential? Are there savings brought about by Success for All that may offset the costs? Is the program cost-effective in comparison to practical alternatives? These are the questions now addressed.

Costs

Success for All has been implemented with widely varying constellations of resources. Most schools fund the program by reconfiguring existing Chapter 1 funds or by supplementing them with additional Chapter 1 or other resources.

Table 1 shows program costs for high-, moderate-, and low-need schools. By "high need" is meant high-poverty schools in which approximately 75% of students qualify for Chapter 1 services, "moderate-need" to schools with 50% eligibility, and "low-need" refers to less impoverished schools in which only 25% of students qualify. The Table assumes a school of about 500 students, teacher cost (salaries plus benefits) of $47,000, and aide costs of $19,000. The cost of adding three sections of half-day preschool are estimated based on 1.5 teachers, 1.5 aides, and $3000 in materials; full-day kindergarten (extending four half-day classes to full-day) would require 2 teachers and 2 aides, plus $3000 in materials.

As is clear from Table 1, the total costs of Success for All can vary considerably, from as little as $182,000 in low-need schools without additional costs for preschool or full-day kindergarten to as much as $626,000 in high-need schools in which preschool and full-day kindergarten are charged to the program.

Even at its least expensive form, Success for All appears to be costly. Yet it can be achieved by reallocating Chapter 1 funds schools are already receiving. At $1000 per eligible student, a high-need school would receive enough to afford the program without preschool or full-day kindergarten. Many large districts are concentrating their Chapter 1 funds in their poorest schools and are providing more than $1000 per eligible student. The recent dramatic increase in national Chapter 1 funding, more than a 60% increase since 1988-89, totally alters the question of the feasibility of Success for All. Despite cutbacks in state and local funding, the expansion of Chapter 1 enables most high-poverty schools to implement a credible form of the program, although additional funds are still usually needed if both preschool and full-day kindergarten are funded by Chapter 1.

Savings Brought About by Success for All

While the costs of Success for All must be primarily justified as an investment in children, it is important to note that the program typically incurs many savings. These are discussed below.

Retentions. The fully funded Success for All schools have reduced their rate of retentions from 11% to near zero, and other schools have cut retentions by almost as much. Reducing retentions has an important effect on educational costs. A retained first grader is receiving a very expensive intervention; one more year of first grade. Total per-pupil costs in Baltimore are $4779 per year. Every time an elementary school retains 25-30 students it must eventually hire an additional teacher, supply an additional classroom, and so on. Reducing retentions from 11% to 0% in a school of 500 students saves approximately $263,000 per year.

Special Education. The fully funded Success for All schools have been able to reduce special education placements for learning disabilities by about half. The additional cost of serving a level 3 or 4 student (the usual placements for learning disabilities) in Baltimore is approximately $3500 per year. If over a period of years the number of children in special education for learning disabilities could be cut from 8% to 4%, the annual savings in a school of 500 students would be $70,000. In addition, reducing the number of *assessments* for special education (at $500 per student) from 8% to 4% would add a savings of $10,000 per year.

Duplicate Services and Materials. The cost of Success for All includes expenses for staff development, an on-site facilitator, and materials and supplies over and above those ordinarily

received by the school. These reduce the school's need for similar services and materials. For example, Baltimore schools have half-time master teachers whose functions can be subsumed by the facilitator. The Success for All materials replace usual books and consumable workbooks, and the training can replace district inservices. Savings for an individual school would depend on the resources already in the school. For Baltimore, savings would include approximately $23,500 for the master teacher, $8000 in materials and supplies, and $2000 in staff development.

Total estimated savings are as follows:	
Retentions	$263,000
Special Education Placements	70,000
Special Education Testing	10,000
Master Teacher	23,500
Duplicate Materials, Inservice	10,000
Total Savings	$376,500

Some of the savings listed above (such as duplicate services, materials, and supplies and special education testing) are realized immediately, while others (retentions, special education placements) accumulate over time. If the school is allowed to recoup its savings instead of having them disappear into the district at large, the net costs of implementing Success for All would decline significantly over time.

Long-Term Savings

The preceding discussion only deals with short- to mid-term savings realized by the school or school system. To these savings must be added the likely savings to society over the long term in costs of welfare, police, prisons, and so on. The link between school success and life success, and between these and need for expensive social services, is well established. To the degree that Success for All ultimately reduces delinquency, dropout, teen pregnancy, or other problems strongly associated with school failure in low-income communities, its savings to society could far outweigh any costs of implementation (see Berrueta-Clement, Schweinhart, Barnett, Epstein, & Weikart, 1984).

Implications of Success for All for Compensatory Education

Once upon a time (or so the story goes), there was a train company experiencing a high rate of accidents. The company appointed a commission to look into the matter, and the commission issued a report noting its major finding, which was that when accidents occurred, damage was primarily sustained to the last car in the train. As a result of this finding, the company established a policy requiring that before each train left the station, the last car was to be uncoupled! (From Slavin, 1991).

All too often in its twenty-five year history, compensatory education has primarily pursued a "last car" strategy in providing for the needs of low achieving students. The attention and resources of Chapter 1 and its predecessor, Title I, have mostly gone into identifying and remediating the damage sustained by individual children. Yet the fault lies not in the children, but in the system that failed to prevent the damage in the first place, just as the damage to the last car was due to the train system and had nothing to do with the last car in itself.

There are new winds of change in discussions of Chapter 1. The 1988 Hawkins-Stafford bill reauthorizing Chapter 1 introduced new flexibility in use of Chapter 1 funds and shifted the focus of Chapter 1 monitoring toward an insistence on outcomes for children. The bill also made it easier for schools serving highly impoverished populations to use their funds for all children, not just identified low achievers. Further, significant increases in Chapter 1 funding create new opportunities. As noted earlier, the 1992-93 Chapter 1 budget of $6.7 billion represents an increase of $2.4 billion over its 1987-88 level. However, all of these changes only create the possibility of

significant reform. They do not guarantee that reform will actually take place, much less that students will actually benefit.

In their first twenty-five years, Chapter 1 and Title I have made an important contribution to the education of low achieving disadvantaged students. The Sustaining Effects Study of the 1970's found that Chapter 1 students learned more than other "needy" children, but did not close their substantial gap with "non-needy" students (Carter, 1984). Perhaps the best indication of the contribution made by Chapter 1 is indirect; the slow but steady reduction in the achievement gap between African American and Hispanic students and white students is often attributed to an effect of Chapter 1/Title I (e.g., Carroll, 1989). Yet it is always possible to make a good program better.

Chapter 1 can be much more than it is today. It can be an engine of change in the education of disadvantaged children. It can ensure the basic skills of virtually all children; it can in essence help our nation's schools put a floor under the achievement expectations for all non-retarded children, so that all children will have the basic skills necessary to profit from regular classroom instruction. It can help schools toward teaching of a full and appropriate curriculum for all students, but particularly for those who by virtue of being "at risk" too often receive a narrow curriculum emphasizing isolated skills. It can make the education of disadvantaged and at risk students a top priority for all schools.

Preventing Early Reading Failure

Perhaps the most important objective of compensatory education is to ensure that children are successful in reading the first time they are taught, and never become remedial readers. The importance of reading success in the early grades is apparent to anyone who works with at-risk students. The consequences of failing to learn to read in the early grades are severe.

One of the most important policy implications of research on Success for All is in providing a demonstration of what Chapter 1 could become. We have argued (see Slavin, 1991b) that Chapter 1 must move away from remediation toward prevention and early intervention to see that students do not fall behind in the first place, and should greatly increase its role in staff development for all teachers in Chapter 1 schools.

As noted earlier, disadvantaged students who have failed a grade and are reading below grade level are extremely unlikely to graduate from high school (Lloyd, 1978; Kelly, Veldman, and McGuire, 1964). Chapter 1 itself has few effects beyond the third grade (Kennedy, Birman, and Demaline, 1986). Retentions and special education referrals are usually based on early reading deficits.

One outcome of widespread reading failure is a high rate of retentions in urban districts. In many, 20% or more of first grade students are retained, and more than half of all students have repeated at least one grade by the time they leave elementary school (Gottfredson, 1988). In the early grades, performing below grade level expectations in reading is the primary reason for retention in grade.

Almost all children, regardless of social class or other factors, enter first grade full of enthusiasm, motivation, and self- confidence, fully expecting to succeed in school (see, for example, Entwistle and Hayduk, 1981). By the end of first grade, many of these students have already discovered that their initial high expectations were not justified, and have begun to see school as punishing and demeaning. Trying to remediate reading failure later on is very difficult, because by then students who have failed are likely to be unmotivated, to have poor self-concepts as learners, to be anxious about reading, and hate it. Reform is needed at all levels of education, but no goal of reform is as important as seeing that all children start off their school careers with success, confidence, and a firm foundation in reading. Success in the early grades does not guarantee success throughout the school years and beyond, but failure in the early grades does virtually guarantee failure in later schooling. This is one problem that must be solved.

There is a growing body of evidence from several sources to indicate that reading failure in the early grades is fundamentally preventable. The outcomes summarized earlier show that Success for All has been able to dramatically reduce the number of students who fail to learn to read. In addition, Reading Recovery (Pinnell, 1989), which provides at-risk first graders with one-to-one tutoring from specially trained certified teachers, has been found to substantially increase these

students' achievement. These improvements have been found to maintain into the later elementary grades. Prevention of Learning Disabilities (Silver and Hagin, 1990) provides tutoring to at-risk first and second graders, with a focus on perceptual skills often lacking in learning disabled students. This program has also had markedly positive effects on students at-risk for learning disabilities. This and other evidence suggest that reading failure is preventable for nearly all children, even a substantial portion of those who are typically categorized as learning disabled.

If reading failure *can* be prevented, it *must* be prevented. Chapter 1 is the logical program to take the lead in giving schools serving disadvantaged students the resources and programs necessary to see that all children learn to read.

Enhancing Regular Classroom Instruction

One of the most fundamental principles of Chapter 1/Title I has been that compensatory funds must be focused on the lowest achieving students in qualifying schools. In principle this makes sense, in that it avoids spreading Chapter 1 resources too thinly to do low achievers any good, but in practice this requirement has led to many problems, including a lack of consistency or coordination between regular and Chapter 1 instruction, disruption of children's regular classroom instruction, labeling of students who receive services, and unclear responsibility for children's progress (Allington, & Johnston, 1989; Stein, Leinhardt & Bickel, 1989).

It is time to recognize that the best way to prevent students from falling behind is to provide them with top-quality instruction in their regular classrooms. A substantial portion of Chapter 1 funds (say 20%) should be set aside for staff development and adoption of programs known to be effective by teachers in Chapter 1 schools. For example, by hiring one less aide, schools could instead devote $20,000 per year to staff development, a huge investment in terms of what schools typically spend but a small one in terms of what Chapter 1 schools receive. No one could argue that the educational impact of one aide could approach that of faithful and intelligent implementation of effective curricula and instructional practices in regular classrooms throughout the school; research on the achievement effects of instructional aides finds that they make little or no measurable difference in achievement (see Slavin, in press).

For this amount of money, a school could pay for extensive inservice, in-class followup by trained "circuit riders," and release time for teachers to observe each other's classes and to meet to compare notes, as well as purchase needed materials and supplies. The achievement benefits of effective classroom instruction all day would far outweigh the potential benefits of remedial service.

There are many examples of programs which have been much more successful for low achieving students than remedial services. In a review of the literature on effective programs for students at risk (Slavin, Karweit, & Madden, 1989), we identified several such programs, including a variety of continuous progress models, cooperative learning, and peer tutoring. Programs directed at improving classroom management skills also often increase achievement. Many of the exciting innovations in curriculum currently being discussed are not affecting poor schools, but could do so with the support of Chapter 1 funds. In addition to particular classroom methods, schoolwide change programs such as James Comer's (1988) model, Theodore Sizer's (1984) Re: Learning Approach, and Henry Levin's (1987) Accelerated Schools model (as well as Success for All) could be funded by Chapter 1 if it focused on staff development.

Success for All provides one demonstration of how a schoolwide emphasis on staff development and adoption of effective practices could be implemented under Chapter 1 funding and could greatly affect the learning of all students. Even Success for All schools with no extra resources were able to make a substantial difference in student reading achievement by using research-based approaches in a comprehensive schoolwide plan (see Slavin et al., 1992). Chapter 1 must help create a situation in which eligible schools are able to select from among a set of programs known to be effective and are then able to use Chapter 1 funds to obtain inservice, followup, and materials, whatever is needed to ensure top-quality implementation of whatever methods the schools has chosen.

To bring about a situation in which schools can choose from among effective programs, several initiatives are needed. Chapter 1 should be funding development and evaluation of

promising practices, including third-party evaluations of programs which already exist. It should also be funding research on processes of disseminating effective practices to individual schools. It should be helping establish training centers around the country able to help schools implement effective practices. It should be examining its funding and accountability requirements to see that they support rather than inhibit schools from using Chapter 1 funds to improve their overall instructional practices.

Chapter 1 should not only be a staff development program; there is still a need for service targeted to individual children (for example, to provide tutoring to first graders having difficulty in reading). However, without a major investment in staff development, Chapter 1 services will always be shoveling against the tide, trying to patch up individual children's deficits without being able to affect the setting in which Chapter 1 students spend the great majority of their day, the regular classroom. Under current regulations, schools can use a small proportion of their Chapter 1 dollars for staff development, but this rarely goes into the kind of training, followup, and assessment needed to effectively implement validated programs. One-day workshops with no followup are far more typical.

The obvious objection to devoting substantial resources staff development is that students not eligible for Chapter 1 would benefit from Chapter 1 dollars at least as much as those who are eligible. This objection can be answered in three ways. First, Chapter 1 accountability procedures should continue to focus entirely on the achievement of Chapter 1-eligible students, so schools implementing programs for all students have to make certain that they are making a difference with low achievers. Second, to withhold effective and cost-effective programs from eligible students because non-eligible students might benefit is perverse; it is like withholding funds intended for water treatment to instead serve individual children with typhoid. Third, research finds that regardless of their own personal characteristics, poor students in schools with large numbers of poor children achieve less well than equally poor students in less disadvantaged schools (Kennedy, Jung, and Orland, 1986). There is a case to be made that students in schools serving disadvantaged students deserve assistance even if they are not low achievers themselves. We should be particularly concerned about poor and minority students who may be doing well enough to avoid Chapter 1 identification but are still not achieving their full potential. Such children may not need direct service, but there is certainly a strong rationale for federal assistance to improve the quality of their regular classroom instruction.

Chapter 1 is extremely important to our most vulnerable children. For more than twenty-five years it has focused attention and resources on low achieving students in disadvantaged schools. Yet Chapter 1 can be much more than it is today. It can become proactive in preventing learning problems rather than only reactive in remediating problems which are already serious. It can ensure literacy for every child, it can become a major force in bringing effective programs into schools serving disadvantaged students, and it can reward schools for doing a good job with at-risk students. Success for All provides one vision of what Chapter 1 schools might look like in practice if it focused on prevention and staff development rather than remediation.

Implications for Special Education Policy

For more than twenty years, the most important debates in special education research and policy have revolved around the practice of mainstreaming, particularly mainstreaming of students with mild academic handicaps, such as those identified as learning disabled. From early on, most researchers and policy makers have favored mainstreaming academically handicapped students to the maximum extent possible (e.g., Leinhardt & Pallay, 1982; Madden & Slavin, 1983), and the passage of PL 94-142 in 1975 put the federal government squarely behind this effort. Since that time, students with academic disabilities have certainly spent more time in general education classes than they did before, but the number of students identified for special education services has risen dramatically. Since 1975, the proportion of students categorized as learning disabled has risen more than 250%, while the category of educable mental retardation has diminished only slightly (Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, 1989).

Despite the increase in mainstreaming, significant proportions of both special and general education teachers have never been comfortable with the practice. At the school level, holding mainstreaming in place is often like holding together two positively charged magnets; it can be done, but only if external pressure is consistently applied. General education teachers are quite naturally concerned about the difficulty of teaching extremely heterogeneous classes, and special education teachers, seeing themselves as better trained to work with academically handicapped students and more concerned about them, are often reluctant to send their students into what they may perceive as an inappropriate environment.

Solutions to the problems of mainstreaming academically handicapped children have generally been built around attempts to improve the capacity of the general classroom teacher to accommodate the needs of a heterogeneous classroom. For example, forms of individualized instruction (e.g., Slavin, 1984; Wang & Birch, 1984), cooperative and peer-mediated instruction (e.g., Jenkins, Jewell, Leceister, Jenkins, & Troutner, 1990; Slavin, Stevens, & Madden, 1988), and teacher consultation models (e.g., Idol-Maestas, 1981) are based on the idea that to fully integrate academically handicapped students, teachers need new programs and skills.

Improving the capacity of the general education classroom to meet diverse needs is an essential part of a comprehensive strategy to serve academically handicapped students, but it is not enough. The problem is that once a child is academically handicapped (or significantly behind his or her peers for any reason), neither mainstreaming nor special or remedial education are likely to bring the child up to age-appropriate achievement norms. From a school organization perspective, the low achievement of the academically handicapped child puts a strain on the school (and the child him- or herself) that is likely to last throughout the child's school career. Mainstreaming may be the best alternative for most academically handicapped children, but if so it is only the least unappealing of many unappealing options.

The Success for All model proposes a markedly different approach to the education of students who are likely to become academically handicapped. The key focus of this model is an emphasis on prevention and on early, intensive, and untiring intervention to bring student performance within normal limits. We call this approach "neverstreaming" because its intention is to see that nearly all children remain in the mainstream by intervening to prevent the academic difficulties that would lead them to be identified for separate special education services.

Success One Year at a Time

One key concept underlying "neverstreaming" is that instructional programs must help students start with success and then maintain that success at each critical stage of development. First, all students should arrive in kindergarten with adequate mental and physical development. This requires investments in prenatal and infant and toddler health care, parent training, early stimulation programs for at-risk toddlers, effective preschool programs, and so on. Intensive birth-to-five programs such as the Milwaukee Project (Garber, 1988) and the Carolina Abecedarian Project (Ramey & Campbell, 1984) show that virtually every child can arrive at the school door with normal IQ and language skills. The next critical juncture is assurance that all students leave first grade well on their way to success in reading and other critical skills. This requires effective kindergarten and first grade instruction and curriculum, family support programs to ensure parental support of the school's goals, and one-to-one tutoring or other intensive interventions for students who are having difficulties in reading. Actually, success in passing from each grade level to the next might be considered a critical requirement for "neverstreaming" at all levels; programs and practices must be directed toward doing whatever it takes to see that all children make it each year. As students move into second and third grade and beyond, this would mean continuing to improve regular classroom instruction, to monitor student progress, and to intervene intensively as often as necessary to maintain at-risk students at a performance level at which they can fully profit from the same instruction given to students who were never at risk.

The idea here is to organize school and non-school resources and programs to relentlessly and systematically prevent students from becoming academically handicapped from their first day of school (or earlier) to their last (or later). Rather than just trying to adapt instruction to student heterogeneity, neverstreaming attacks the original problem at its source, attempting to remove the

low end of the performance distribution by preventing whatever deficits can be prevented, intensively intervening to identify and remediate any remaining deficits, and maintaining interventions to keep at-risk students from sliding back as they proceed through the grades.

Is Neverstreaming Feasible?

For neverstreaming to be a viable concept, we must have confidence that prevention and early intervention can in fact bring the great majority of at-risk students to an acceptable level of academic performance and prevent unnecessary special education referrals. Several recent developments in research on programs for students at risk of academic difficulties have shown the potential of prevention and early intervention to keep students in the early grades from starting the process of falling behind that often ultimately results in assignment to special education. As noted earlier, there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that reading failure is fundamentally preventable for a very large proportion of at-risk students. Reading failure is a key element of the profile of most students identified as learning disabled (Norman & Zigmond, 1980).

The findings to date of the Success for All evaluations illustrate the potential of prevention and early intervention to keep students from falling far behind their agemates, to keep them from failing, and to keep them from being assigned to special education for learning disabilities. Most of the Success for All schools serve very disadvantaged student populations; many experience problems with truancy, inadequate health care, parental poverty, drug involvement, and other problems that are unusual even among urban schools. Yet in these schools, students are performing at or near national norms, and even the lowest achievers are well on their way to reading, are being promoted, and are staying out of special education. More typical schools without many of these challenges should be able to ensure that virtually all non-retarded students are successful in reading and other basic skills and can therefore stay out of separate special education programs.

How Many Students Can Be "Neverstreamed?"

It is too early to say precisely what proportion of the students now identified as having academic handicaps can be "neverstreamed," which is to say prevented from ever having learning deficits serious enough to warrant special education. It may be that as our knowledge and experience grow, it will become possible to avoid separate special education for the great majority of students currently categorized as learning disabled, about 4.8% of all students ages 3 to 21 (Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, 1989), plus some proportion of those identified as mildly mentally retarded and behaviorally handicapped. Looking at data from three to four years of implementation of Success for All in Baltimore it is clear that even the very lowest achieving third graders are reading at a level that would allow them to participate successfully in regular classroom instruction. As noted earlier, only 3.9% of Success for All third graders scored two years below grade level, one-third the proportion in the control schools. While 16% of Success for All students were at least a year below level, 38% of control students scored this poorly. With continuing improvements in curriculum and instruction through the fifth grade, these third graders should all complete their elementary years with an adequate basis in reading, and this should greatly increase their chances of success in the secondary grades. There is no reason to believe that similar strategies in mathematics, spelling, writing, and other subjects would not have similar impacts, particularly to the degree that success in these areas depends on reading skills.

The number of students who can be "neverstreamed" is not only dependent on the effectiveness of prevention and early intervention, but also on the degree to which general education can become better able to accommodate student differences. For example, use of cooperative learning, individualized instruction, and other strategies can also increase the ability of classroom teachers to meet individual needs. In one sense, the idea of neverstreaming is to work from two sides at the same time; making the classroom better able to accommodate individual differences, and reducing the severity of deficits in the first place to make accommodation of differences much easier.

The Role of Special Education in a "Neverstreamed" World

Obviously, there will always be students who will continue to need top-quality special education services, such as those who are retarded or severely emotionally disturbed, as well as those with physical, speech, or language deficits and those with severe learning disabilities. In a "neverstreamed" school, traditionally configured special education services would still be provided to these students, with an emphasis on prevention and early intervention and on providing services in the least restrictive environment. One effect of neverstreaming should be to allow special education to return to its focus on more severely impaired students, those truly in need of *special* services as distinct from enhancements to general education. Special education also has a key role to play in providing consultation to classroom teachers on such issues as adapting instruction to accommodate diverse needs and learning styles, improving classroom management, and assessing students. For example, even students who are reading well may have learning and behavior problems that classroom teachers may need help to accommodate. Special education consultants might include among their responsibilities working with individual children for brief periods to learn how to succeed with them and then returning them to their teachers and tutors.

If neverstreaming were to become institutionalized on a broad scale, it would create a need for a new category of teachers -- professional tutors. Effective tutoring is not simply a matter of putting one teacher with one student; there are several studies of tutoring that have found unsystematic forms of tutoring to have few effects on learning (see Wasik & Slavin, 1990). The education and supervision of tutors might take place under the auspices of special education, particularly as states and districts are moving toward funding formulas that allow special education personnel and monies to be used for prevention as well as for services to students who already have IEP's.

Unresolved Issues

Clearly, there is much we would need to know to maximize the degree to which students at risk can be successfully "neverstreamed". We need to experiment with alternative models of early prevention, early childhood education, beginning instruction in reading and other basic skills, tutoring, family support, inservice, and school change, to find ever more effective strategies in each of these areas, and to find optimal mixes of elements. One particular question of great importance is whether tutoring in reading and other basic skills is enough to keep all non-retarded students from falling behind, or whether instruction specific to neurological deficits needs to be provided for some students, either preventatively or in the later grades.

At the policy level, many other issues must be resolved. First, we must have a consensus that investments in early education will pay off in the long run. Second, we must have a willingness to devote funds to prevention. This implies that there must be a willingness at the policy level to increase funds for early education for some period of time, because it would be irresponsible to strip funds away from remedial services for students already in the system to concentrate them on prevention and early intervention for younger students. In addition, regulatory changes allowing uses of special education, Chapter 1, and other categorical monies more flexibly are necessary. The Success for All program has substantially benefited from the new flexibility in Chapter 1 regulations introduced in the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford bill, but this flexibility is mostly limited to schools serving very disadvantaged populations.

At the moment, neverstreaming should be seen as a goal rather than a well-developed policy. However, if this goal is to be realized, we need to focus our energies on research, development, evaluation, and demonstration to move toward a day when students with learning disabilities and other students at risk of academic handicaps can confidently expect what neither mainstreaming nor special education can guarantee them today, not only services, but success.

Conclusion

More than a decade ago, Ronald Edmonds (1981, p. 23) put forth three assertions:

a) We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us;
b) We already know more than we need to do that; and
c) Whether or not we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact the we haven't so far.

Edmonds' conclusions were based on his studies of effective and ineffective schools serving poor and minority children. His key assumption was that if the characteristics of effective schools could be implanted in less effective schools, all children could learn. Yet this transfer turned out not to be an easy one. Making a run-of-the mill school into an outstanding one takes much more than telling staffs the characteristics of outstanding schools.

The greatest importance of the research on Success for All is that it brings us closer to making Edmond's vision a reality. Only when we have confidence that we can take a *typical* school serving disadvantaged children and ensure the success of virtually every child can we really force the essential political and policy question. Given that we know that we can greatly improve the educational performance of at-risk children, *are we willing to do what it takes to do so?* The findings of research on Success for All and related prevention and early intervention programs make it impossible to continue to say that the problems of education in the inner city cannot be solved. The Success for All schools, which include some of the most disadvantaged schools in such cities as Baltimore, Philadelphia, Memphis, and Montgomery, Alabama, do not have hand-picked staffs or principals. If they can achieve success with the great majority of at-risk children, so can most schools serving similar children. It takes money, but increasingly the money is already in place as Chapter 1 funds increase for high-poverty schools, or can be found from other sources. What is most needed is leadership, a commitment at every level of the political process to see that we stop discarding so many students at the start of their school careers.

If we had an outbreak of a curable disease, we would have a massive outpouring of publicity and funding to do what is necessary to cure it. *Reading failure is a curable disease.* If we are a caring nation, or even if we are only a self-interested but far-sighted nation, the knowledge that reading failure is fundamentally preventable must have a substantial impact on our policies toward education for at-risk children.

There is much more we need to learn how to do and much more we need to learn about the effects of what we are already doing, but we already know enough to make widespread reading failure a thing of the past. Next September, another six million children will enter kindergarten. If we know how to ensure that all of them will succeed in their early schooling years, we have a moral responsibility to use this knowledge. We cannot afford to get another generation slip through our fingers.

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Chairman KILDEE. Thank you very much. Ms. Allen-Haynes.

STATEMENT OF LEETTA ALLEN-HAYNES, LOUISIANA ACCELERATED SCHOOLS, COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF NEW ORLEANS, NEW ORLEANS, LA

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. Good morning. I think a lot of what I had to say would be repetitious at this point. Following Dr. Slavin is a tough act. Certainly in Accelerated Schools, we concur with everything that Dr. Slavin has just said, and I guess what I have to offer will be an expansion from our point of view.

What we begin with in Accelerated Schools is what Dr. Slavin concluded with, a belief that all children can learn, and we look at disadvantaged, at-risk students in a different light. We began in Accelerated Schools by redefining what the at-riskness is, because we find in traditional schools the children are treated as if the at-riskness is something indigenous to them or their families, so we redefine the at-riskness as a situation. We find that these children do come with deficits, but not because the deficits are intellectual, part of their intellectual, biological situation.

It is because of the environment and the conditions into which they are born. By redefining at-riskness and defining it as a situation, we began in Accelerated Schools by looking at trying to change the attitudes in schools about the situation. We also began with what Dr. Slavin referred to as a recognition for the need for professional development in our schools. In order to move a school from a traditional mode into an attitude that is conducive for all children, not just disadvantaged children, there must be some cultural changes inside the school, and that is where we begin. We begin with offering our schools that are a part of the Accelerated Schools network three basic principles that would allow them to treat not only at-risk students, but all students the same.

From those three basic principles, we ask each individual in the school to internalize those concepts and rethink what it is they are doing in their classrooms. We look at the situation of pull-out and examine it from what we actually see in schools, and that is, stigmatizing those kids that are pulled out. Pointing them out to their peers as children who have deficits, when in actuality many of the children who are not pulled out could use the services that are offered to those that are being pulled out.

We tried to help our schools and our teaching staff devel ρ a new attitude about the children that they are serving. The Accelerated Schools Project is now being implemented in over 150 schools across the Nation and many of our schools are in rural areas, and we are finding that in school districts across the country we are confronted with the cries of strong budget constraints and not enough flexibility in the school's budget for professional development of teachers. Therefore our project works on that aspect inside the school.

One of the unique aspects about the Accelerated Schools model is that it is implemented across the country through local universities who enter into partnerships with Stanford University. Dr. Henry Levin of Stanford University developed the model and his process for disseminating it across the country is to enter into partnerships

with colleges of education at various universities around the country. Those universities commit to enter into school/university partnerships with the local schools in which the model will be implemented.

We look to do two things. We look to impact the teaching strategies, the instructional practices and curricula in the schools that we work with and we look to be informed by that research, by university personnel working in schools. We use the information we gather in those schools to go back to the universities, colleges of education, and have an impact on changes that need to be made in teacher training and administrative training preparation programs.

Hopefully, we will, in a short time, have a total system that is communicating through higher education. The results that we have been getting are an increased dialogue at the university level about the manner in which teacher training programs need to be changed, what the content needs to be, and we are addressing the cry that we are getting, and that is that teachers are being sent out into the field, going into inner city, large inner city urban schools, having no idea of what teaching in those schools will entail, or going to rural areas and having no concept of the cultural context that exists in those areas. So we are using the information that we gather in our schools to inform our training programs so that we will not receive that criticism of our new teachers.

In Louisiana, we have built a network and the majority of our work at the university is in school staff development, looking at the curricula practices, looking at the instructional practices in each individual school, using local knowledge to place change into a local context that fits into the culture in that area and accommodate the change process in the individuals in the school. Hopefully through cultural changes, individual attitudinal changes, we will begin to look at education for all children and not just services for at-risk students. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Allen-Haynes follows:]

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SHAPING OUR FUTURE

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WHAT ARE ACCELERATED SCHOOLS?

Accelerated Schools set a goal of bringing ALL students into the educational mainstream by the end of elementary school so they can perform at levels appropriate to their age group. We use the term "accelerated" because at-risk students must learn at a faster rate than more privileged students--not at a slower rate that drags them farther and farther behind. Only an enrichment strategy, not a remedial one, can offer hope for reversing the present educational crisis of at-risk students.

Accelerated Schools break out of the traditional limits that schools often place on the education of so-called "at-risk" students:

* Instead of labeling certain children as slow learners, **Accelerated Schools have high expectations for all students.**

* Instead of relegating students to remedial classes without setting goals for improvement, **Accelerated Schools set deadlines for making such children academically able.**

* Instead of slowing down the pace of instruction for at-risk students, **Accelerated Schools combine relevant curriculum, powerful and diverse instructional techniques, and creative school organization to accelerate the progress of all students.**

* Instead of providing instruction based on "drill and kill" worksheets, **Accelerated Schools offer stimulating instructional programs based on problem-solving and interesting applications.**

* Instead of simply complying with "downtown" decisions made without teacher input, **Accelerated Schools staff systematically identify their own unique challenges and search out solutions to those challenges.**

* Instead of treating parents as a problem, **Accelerated Schools build on the strengths of all available resources including parents of students.**

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INTRODUCTION

The Accelerated Schools Project at Stanford University was initiated in 1985-86, with the objective of building the capacity of individual schools to implement the Accelerated Schools model, enabling them to accelerate student learning within existing resource constraints. At present over 150 schools have committed to implement the Accelerated Schools model. The oldest was established five years ago; over half were initiated in the past school year. These schools have produced dramatic results, as indicated by improvements in student test scores, attendance, and motivation, and by increases in teacher attendance and parent involvement. The Accelerated Schools process creates systemic change in individual schools.

In the following section the Accelerated Schools model is discussed in more detail. The design of the model and its strategy for implementation at individual school sites is included. The last section briefly describes the Louisiana Accelerated Schools Project.

BACKGROUND

The Accelerated Schools Project at Stanford University is based upon research on at-risk students that was initiated in the early 1980s by Professor Henry Levin. That research represented an attempt to assess the extent and growth of the at-risk population, the educational outcomes for this group, the social and economic consequences for the nation, and the causes of the failure to bring these students into the educational mainstream (Levin 1985; 1986).

The study found that the main thrust for at-risk students, remediation, had the consequences of slowing down student progress and getting them farther and farther behind the mainstream (Levin 1987a; 1987b). By sixth grade they were two years behind their grade in achievement and were performing at only the eighth grade level if they completed high school. Over half failed to complete high school. The organization of schools, curriculum, and instructional strategies were all found to contribute to reduced expectations, uninspiring school experiences, expectations of student failure, and an inability to draw upon the rich talents of teachers and students, and the potential contributions of parents. Accelerated Schools were designed to have precisely the opposite consequences beginning with their goals (Levin 1987b).

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Accelerated schools set a goal of bringing at-risk students into the educational mainstream by the end of elementary school so they can benefit from high-quality instruction at the secondary level. Such schools are premised on the fact that at-risk students must learn at a faster rate than students whose talents are already nurtured--not at a slower rate that drags them farther and farther behind. An enrichment strategy rather then a remedial one offers the greatest hope for reversing the present educational crisis of at-risk students.

It may seem strange to talk of acceleration for at-risk students. Academic acceleration is an approach that is usually reserved for "gifted and talented" students, those who perform at the very top. However, past attempts to accelerate the learning of at-risk students have worked (Levin 1988). One recent study assigned at-risk students, at random, to remedial, average, and honors seventh-grade mathematics classes (Peterson 1989). At the end of the year, the at-risk or remedial students who took the honors class--which provided pre-algebra instruction--outshone all other students of similar backgrounds in their mathematics performances. By accelerating their education, we can not only bring them into the mainstream, but also help some of these students become honors students by nurturing their talents.

ACCELERATED SCHOOLS PHILOSOPHY AND PROCESS

The Accelerated Schools philosophy is premised on the tenet that if a school is not good enough for the children of the school staff, it is not good enough for any child. This is the standard toward which all Accelerated Schools strive, to create in their own school the dream school which they would want for their own children.

For too long we have set our educational goals too low for students caught in at-risk situations. We have been satisfied if a particular school enrolling "at-risk" students was performing a bit better than "typical" schools enrolling at-risk students. However, even this "better" school for at-risk students would hardly be considered a prospective school by educators for their own children. If the school does not meet the standards we require for our own children, then we must continue to work with the school until the schools that we want for our own children and those that we provide for at-risk students are one and the same.

Three Central Principles

In order to create the kinds of schools that will work for all children, Accelerated Schools embody three central principles which are largely absent from conventional schools: creation of a unity of purpose; initiation of school-site empowerment through decision-making and responsibility for results; and establishment of an instructional approach that builds on the strengths of students, teachers, administrators, other staff, and parents, rather than on their weaknesses. It is this constellation of principles working in tandem which provide acceleration of learning for at-risk students.

1. **Unity of Purpose** refers to the development and pursuit of a common vision among parents, teachers, support staff, students, and building administrators of a school, as well as central office administrators who will work for all and will be the focal point of everyone's efforts. In conventional schools, such unity is not even attempted as the actors perform their roles independently of each other and often in conflict. Most teachers see their responsibilities extending no farther than good practices in their self-contained classes. Other staff are expected to perform specialized functions such as providing particular services to children with special needs including remedial, bilingual, or special education assistance.

Staff have little opportunity or incentive to work together at a schoolwide level to construct and fulfill a vision of success for the entire school. Rather, they work largely in isolation from each other. Further, there is little opportunity for parents and students to contribute to a schoolwide vision that will align their own efforts with those of school staff. Clearly, a central element of the unity agreement must be to transform the school into an accelerated one that will make students academically able at an early date.

2. **School-site decisions and shared responsibility** refer to the empowerment of the key participants to make important decisions at the school level and in the home to improve the education of students. It is based upon breaking the present stalemate among administrators, teachers, support staff, parents, and students in which the participants tend to blame each other as well as other factors "beyond their control" for the poor educational outcomes of at-risk students. Unless all of the major actors can be empowered to seek a common set of goals and influence the educational and social process to achieve those goals, it is unlikely that the desired improvements will take place or be sustained. An Accelerated School must build upon an expanded role for all groups (parents, students, teachers, administrators, support staff, and the community) to participate in and take responsibility for the educational process and

educational results. Such an approach requires a shift to a school-based decision approach with heavy involvement of teachers, support staff, and parents and new roles for administrative leadership. Among the areas that are most central for site-based participation in decisions are, the choice of curriculum, instructional strategies, instructional materials, and personnel and the ability to allocate resources. While state and local regulations and guidelines may place some legitimate limits on each of these for purposes of accountability, articulation among school levels, and uniformity among schools, it is important that a major share of decision responsibilities be placed at the school site. The district must also provide needed support services in the areas of information, technical assistance, staff development, and evaluation, as well as an appropriate system of student and school assessment that can be used as a basis for accountability.

3. **Building on strengths** refers to utilizing all of the learning resources that students, parents, school staff, and communities can bring to the educational endeavor. In the quest to place blame for the lack of educational progress of at-risk students, it is easy to exaggerate weaknesses of the various participants and overlook their strengths. Teachers, parents, and support staff are largely underutilized sources of talent in most schools. Parents can be powerful allies in the educational process because they love their children deeply and want them to succeed. The key is making them feel comfortable and important to the school and helping them develop supportive educational roles for their children. Teachers, in addition to their professional expertise, bring the gifts of insight, intuition, and organizational acumen. Support staff possess similar attributes but are also underutilized. These qualities are vastly underutilized in schools that exclude teachers and support staff from the decisions they ultimately must implement.

The strengths of at-risk students are often overlooked and even devalued because such students lack some of the characteristics of middle-class students. But all children bring their own unique assets which can be used to accelerate the learning process. All students are more successful when essential conditions for learning are met. These include being valued as an able student by the teacher; a curriculum which embraces and builds on the specific contributions of the students' culture, demonstrating its contributions to the larger American culture; a school community that treats its members with dignity and caring; and teachers and parents who hold high expectations that their students will become able, responsible, and skilled adults.

School-based administrators are also underutilized by being placed in "command" roles to meet the directives and standard-operating-procedures of districts rather than being asked to work creatively with parents, staff, and students to meet school goals. Communities have considerable resources including

youth organizations, senior citizens, businesses, and religious groups that should be viewed as major assets for the schools and the children of the community. All of these participants, inside and outside of the school, can contribute greatly towards creating, enriching, and accelerating the learning process.

POWERFUL LEARNING:
Curriculum, Instruction, and Organization

One of the most important pieces of the powerful learning philosophy is the fact that the education we use with "gifted" children works well for ALL children. (See, Fetterman 1988.) With this fact in mind, we must create situations where every school day encompasses the best things we know about curriculum, instruction, and organization. Our philosophy creates learning situations where each student has an interest in learning, sees meaning in the lesson, perceives connections between this school activity and his or her real life, is able to learn actively, and learn in ways that build on their own strengths. Accelerated School communities work together to create powerful learning experiences where, each child is treated as gifted, higher order and complex activities are stressed, content is relevant, and children actively discover the curriculum objectives in a safe environment, rather than passively going through textbooks and filling out worksheets. The safe environment for learning extends far beyond the classroom into every aspect of the school, home, and community.

The second part of our learning philosophy is that we see that every powerful learning experience has three dimensions. The first dimension is "what" is taught--the content or curriculum. The second dimension is "how" the content is taught--instruction. The third dimension is the context in which one galvanizes all available resources to achieve the "what" and "how". Context or organization includes the use of time, flexibility of the schedule, deployment of staffing, funding, etc. We see these three dimensions as **totally and necessarily integrated.** A change in curriculum necessitates a change in instruction and organization and vice versa. Most educational reforms represent piecemeal changes that only focus on one specific dimension of a school. The Accelerated School explicitly rejects this piecemeal approach in favor of a comprehensive approach in which all parts work dynamically together on behalf of students, school staff, and parents.

What is obvious is that an Accelerated School is not just a conventional school with compensatory or al classes grafted onto

it. Rather, it is a vital environment in which the entire school and its operations are transformed. The stress is on the school as a whole rather than on a particular grade, curriculum, approach to teacher training, or other more limited strategy.

THE ACCELERATED SCHOOLS TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

A comprehensive process has been established to transform traditional schools into accelerated ones. The primary focus is placed on developing capacity by the school community to make important educational decisions that will create the best possible schools for all students. Over a period of several months, the school community begins by taking a deep look into its present situation, and then forges a shared vision for its future that encompasses the views of all of its members. By comparing the vision to the initial situation, the school community comes up with priority areas for action. Through the creation of accelerated governance structures and the practice of the Inquiry Process, Accelerated School communities work systematically toward reaching their visions. Because this requires the transformation of the school into a collaborative decision-making entity, schools may take five to six years to fully integrate the Accelerated Schools process into their community.

The Accelerated Schools Project

The initial version of the Accelerated School was formulated in 1985-86 and reviewed with school authorities as a basis for creating pilot schools in the summer and fall of 1986. At that time the model was primarily a philosophy. By working with two pilot schools in the Bay Area, the Accelerated Schools Project staff collaboratively developed the seeds of the Accelerated Schools process. This process--a strategy for getting schools from "here to there"--makes the Accelerated Schools Project unique from all other school reform efforts. By 1990-91 some 54 schools had initiated the process including a pilot middle school. During the summer of 1991 school teams from some 80 additional schools were trained, and most of these launched Accelerated Schools in the fall, along with 2 new middle schools. At the present time 150 schools in 17 states are pursuing the accelerated schooling model, and we have plans for expansion in 1992-93. Through both training and guided practice, the Accelerated Schools Project has assisted these schools in building their capacities to accelerate the education of all students. This project has benefitted considerably from the collaborative work that Accelerated Schools

Project personnel have done with schools across the country. New and old Accelerated Schools represent laboratories for testing ideas and for learning from the schools.

We believe that it takes about six years to fully transform school into an Accelerated School. However, even in the early years there are major successes in parental participation, student and teacher attendance, instructional and curriculum changes, and student motivation. After four and one half years, the first of our Accelerated Schools showed the largest test score gains in all subjects among all elementary schools in San Francisco. Despite the fact that over 90 percent of its students were from minority groups and that 80 percent were on welfare, it had gone from 65th out of 69 elementary schools in San Francisco to 23rd over this period. Students were performing above grade level in mathematics and were approaching it in language and reading. Other schools have shown equally dramatic results, including one school that was able to raise the achievement of its students from one and one-half years below grade level at fifth grade to grade level and above.

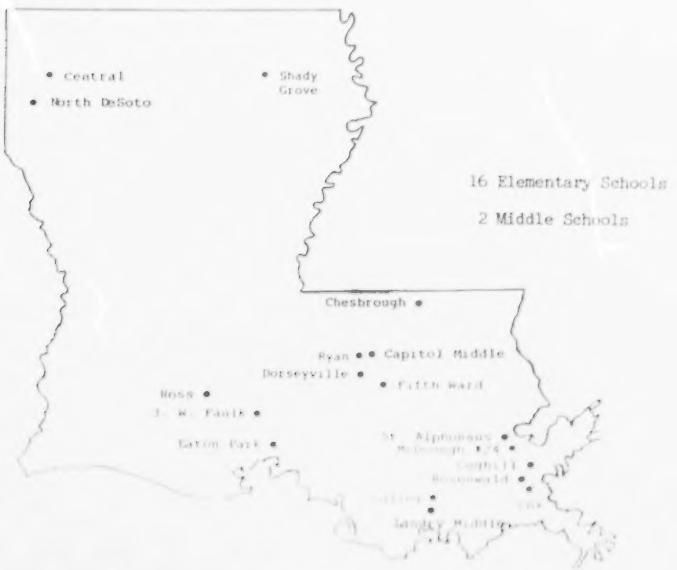
Our experience is that the creation of Accelerated Schools has only minimal cost implications at the school site, typically costing less than one percent of the school budget. Many schools have supported their training and operations by reallocating existing funding rather than seeking additional funds.

THE LOUISIANA ACCELERATED SCHOOLS PROJECT

The satellite center for the State of Louisiana is at the University of New Orleans (UNO), which began with a single pilot school in 1990-91. Since then UNO has created its own Accelerated Schools team, and has also begun to explore how its own teacher training and administrator training might change to support accelerated schooling principles. Under the leadership of Dr. James Meza, an Associate Professor at the University of New Orleans and a former Louisiana Superintendent of Education, the state of Louisiana has developed a strategy for building a state network of Accelerated Schools. Based on UNO's experience with the Satellite Center pilot school in 1991-1992, Dr. Meza developed a proposal for providing technical assistance to a new school in each of the eight Congressional districts in Louisiana. Schools from each district were selected based on a review of applications, and training was provided for teams from each school

using the Stanford Accelerated Schools training guide and process, as well as technical assistance for school implementation of the process. Additionally, state-wide network meetings have been held every other month so that in these schools can learn from each others' experiences with the school transformation process. Based on the project's success with building grass roots support through the network, the state provided funding to expand to an additional eight sites in 1991-1992, and additional funding has been committed by the State of Louisiana for seven additional sites (a total of 16 schools) for 1992-1993.

THE LOUISIANA NETWORK OF SCHOOLS



Chairman KILDEE. Thank you very much, Miss Allen-Haynes. Our next witness is Mr. Sidney Smith.

STATEMENT OF SIDNEY SMITH, HEADMASTER, BOSTON ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON, MA

Mr. SMITH. Good morning, and thank you very much for your invitation to speak to you this morning. I have been asked to speak on innovative approaches to teaching disadvantaged students. I previously submitted a paper I wrote to discuss this concern in some detail, and I hope you have had the opportunity to read that. Because of the limited time available this morning, however, I would like to focus on one element that is included in that document, the most important element to me in ensuring that any of the promising instructional practices I spoke about are put into place.

Most important of all, we need to create the conditions that will allow, and in some cases require, teachers to teach effectively and students to learn to the best of their abilities. First of all, we need to commit ourselves to a single mission to teach all of our students to use their minds well and to insure that all of our high school graduates can do precisely this.

Student progress is now evaluated through the use of all kinds of measures. It includes student attendance, class participation, conduct in class, personal growth, you name it. One teacher's A is another teacher's D plus. Consequently, students' report cards and transcripts are unreliable at best, and all too often are not certificates of any academic achievement. Because of this, we need to define and administer a limited number of assessments that will ensure that all of our graduates are credible.

Assessments that require all graduates to read and evaluate sophisticated material, to problem solve and to express themselves well, assessments that must be passed before a student can earn a diploma that serves as the point of departure for all curriculum and instruction, that focuses our mission, that enhances, rather than trivializes instruction, that can be used to evaluate student, teacher, administrator, and school performance, and that generates a need in schools and teachers to promote and employ the other promising practices I wrote about in the paper I have submitted to you and the practices my co-presenters have spoken about this morning.

At English High School in Boston, I have seen what the development of assessments like these can do for a school and for students. I have seen tough, hard-nosed kids break down and cry when they passed an assessment they thought they never had a chance of passing, but did so by dint of hard, persistent effort. I have seen over 200 students come to after-school tutoring programs on any given day in an effort to pass these assessments.

Prior to establishing the assessments, less than a handful of students came after school for help. I have seen kids talking about mathematics and position papers in the hallways and in the cafeteria. Before the assessments, discussions centered on music, clothing, rumors and weekend activities. Though it is not a welcomed indicator, I have seen kids construct elaborate cheating schemes to

pass the assessments. In the past they never took any school work seriously enough to want to cheat.

I have seen teachers become more focused and more anxious and employ new instructional practices in the hopes of better preparing the kids for something that was clearly significant to all of them. I have heard teachers complain about the school sponsoring too many out-of-school activities because they competed with instructional time. Before the assessments, I saw these same teachers take their kids to every out-of-school activity that they could find.

Finally, I have had previously reluctant teachers come to me and cite the assessments as the single most significant instrument they have ever seen to raise students' expectations, students' motivation, productivity and their self-esteem. All of this was due, in part, to the binding assessments.

As good as I feel about the progress we have made, I also have to note that our entire assessment program is at risk due to declining resources. I have lost administrative and support staff that made the assessments possible, while watching class sizes reach a ratio of 33 to 1. As of this moment, though, I am convinced that our assessment program is on target and effective. I know the assessment program cannot expand and, in fact, will probably have to be downsized in the year to come.

This brings me to you and what the Federal Government can do. First of all, I ask you to gain some perspective. On the one hand, educators have been bashed like it is going out of style for the past few years. Some critics would have you believe that we have retreated from some golden age of education when all school-aged adolescents graduated from school able to write impressive research papers and read in German. Such has never been the case. We are all engaged in what to me is the greatest of American experiments. Never before have we even tried to educate every American well.

We have never had to. We need to now, but we have a long way to go to learn how, and to do this we need your support in the effort, as well as your constructive criticism. The Federal Government must play a more active role in the development and dissemination of promising practice, like the assessments program and the other practices I mention in my paper, and in the development of schools that work to incorporate all of these practices, rather than tinkering with one or two isolated practices that will be destined to fail.

The best way for the Federal Government to do this work is through investments in States, districts, individual schools, and credible reform agents like Ted Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools. The investments showed focus on providing the transition moneys needed to get these schools and initiatives up and running. As a starting point, money is needed to encourage and support the research and development efforts of States, districts, schools or reform agents willing to take the initiative to create the kind of binding assessments I have mentioned this morning.

But even given this, there are no simple solutions, and the question remains. What about the kids, the teachers and the administrators now working against already unbelievable odds who will be expected to reevaluate themselves to the task?

How can poor and disadvantaged kids reach these goals when many who need Head Start never receive its benefits? How can poor and disadvantaged kids reach these goals when they have little support in their homes or communities because mom has to work two jobs, because five people are crammed into a three-room apartment, because mom or dad didn't finish high school themselves, and because the community center is now closed and the kids have no place to go after school to get support or direction?

How can the teachers of poor and disadvantaged kids reach these goals when they have to work a second job to keep bread on the table and when they are expected to be teachers, social workers, mothers, fathers, martyrs and saints with little support and even fewer resources. How can administrators reach these goals when they are often required to employ and retain under-prepared or inadequate teachers, and they are required to serve students who don't come to school to work, but who do come to school to merely socialize at best or act like criminals at worst?

How can urban school systems that receive half the resources of some suburban districts reach these goals when these same suburban districts are also experiencing difficulty in educating all their students well? In all honesty, at this point I don't know what is possible, but we all continue to push the limits of what is possible. We need every bit of your assistance in this effort. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Smith follows:]

BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

THE ENGLISH HIGH SCHOOL

Founded 1821

Representative Dale E. Kildee, Chairman
Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary
and Vocational Education
Cannon House Office Building, Room 320
Washington, D.C. 20515-6101

July 27, 1992

Dear Representative Kildee:

I'm pleased and honored to accept your invitation to address the House Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education. Please find enclosed my narrative on innovative approaches to teaching disadvantaged students. As you will note, I've crafted my narrative in the form of a proposal for a new type of school that will incorporate the many innovative approaches I'm familiar with, into one cohesive whole.

My experience as a teacher and Headmaster, for the past twenty years, has shown me that many promising practices often die a slow death because they're incompatible with other not-so-promising practices that dominate the overall operation of a school. For this reason, I've tried to tie these practices into a total school design that allows the practices to flourish, and the whole to become much greater than the sum of the parts.

As you'll also note, some of the practices I speak about are not necessarily instructional practices. Some of the most promising practices are those that **allow** good education to take place in the classroom. Most particularly, the way we organize schools, and the academic and behavioral expectations we hold for kids, have everything to do with whether or not a teacher can teach effectively. We're falling far short in these areas, so I've also addressed some practices that have demonstrated promise for productive change.

I look forward to the hearing on August 4, and again, I appreciate your invitation.

Sincerely,

Sidney W. Smith

AMERICA'S OLDEST PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL
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CONCEPT PAPER: AN INTEGRATION OF PROMISING PRACTICES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A "COALITION" SCHOOL

Problem/Need: Some students, in every school and school system in the country, will learn, succeed and excel, no matter what we as educators do. Whether our instruction is exceedingly good or bad, whether the tasks they're asked to perform are exciting or distasteful, these students will succeed, almost despite anything we might do. However, these students represent a distinct minority of our student population. Most of our students do not fit this profile. Too many of our students experience an inordinate amount of school failure, and too many others are just pushed along until they complete their high school education too poorly prepared to enter the job market or continue on to college. Just as importantly, far too many of those students who do manage to experience some success and get by, never come close to tapping into their true potential.

On the one hand, the students themselves must certainly share some of the responsibility for their limited success. Too many students hide behind the claim that "school is boring" (and it often is), and are unwilling to work hard and actively pursue the best education possible. On the other hand, school folks must also come to grips with our responsibility for allowing the situation described above to persist. We need to recognize that our organizational structures, our curriculum, our instructional methods and our crediting systems often contribute to the problems some students experience in school. Most importantly, we must also recognize that our expectations of many of our students are exceedingly low, and that we too often encourage passivity and a lack of responsibility. Though there are no panaceas, we must be more willing to develop different school structures and systems that will engage more of our students, and will develop more thoughtful, skilled and productive graduates.

For the most part, our schools are large and impersonal, lacking the intimacy and sense of belonging that's so essential for adolescents. Very few of our students have the self-esteem and confidence that will allow them to pursue their education with diligence, without first feeling a sense of affiliation and belongingness in their school. A strong personal bond between staff and students is a prerequisite to their learning. Our students need to feel they're importan and they need to be reminded of this day in and day out. They hear this message all too infrequently, both in and outside of school.

Many students' success is also determined by what and how we choose to teach. Most of our students must be presented with material that's engaging, thought-provoking, challenging and meaningful, if we hope to involve them in a constructive classroom experience. This is an absolute prerequisite to learning for them. Very few of our students will endure covering the often mind-numbing material that's now placed in front of them in many classes. Even those who can are most often motivated by an important goal (e.g. college) or a painful consequence (the wrath of a parent), rather than the intrinsic "meaningfulness" of the

content or task at hand. Too few of our students have these goals or face these consequences. Their motivation must come, in large part, from the particular material they're studying. We need to examine our curriculum to find better ways to engage and hold on to these students, as well as those students who do have motivating goals or consequences, but who find school a place to endure rather than thrive.

In addition to the above, we need to respond to the fact that our schools are dominated by teacher-centered instruction that contributes to students' passivity, their inability to work cooperatively with others, and their inability to take responsibility for their education. In many classrooms, teachers dominate the entire learning experience and fail to engage students in the powerful instructional opportunities available through cooperative learning activities and constructive dialogue. This dominance promotes students' willingness to relinquish responsibility and demonstrate minimal motivation. Finally, adolescents are (or seek to be) incredibly social beings. At a time when it's critical for us to take advantage of this need, and to teach them how to engage in productive personal and working relationships, we require them to be passive and fail to take advantage of the opportunities that exist to create instructive, productive interactions in the classroom.

Our crediting system must also change if we want to promote success to the greatest possible extent. As it now exists, students are required to work for stretches of ninety or one hundred-eighty days (one-half or one full school year) before they're entitled to earn any credit. No adult could imagine working on a job for those stretches of time before he or she could receive a paycheck. Ours is a crediting system for extremely patient, future-directed people. Many of our students need more regular rewards and reinforcement. Because many of our students also experience interruptions in their school experience, due to family or personal crises, we also need to have a crediting system that allows students to earn credit on a more frequent basis. Wherever possible, we need to organize our curriculum into units of instruction that complement a more flexible crediting system.

It's also essential that we explore different ways to schedule time. Given the standard forty-five minute period, and seven period day, students and teachers rarely have the opportunity to engage in individual or cooperative activities that require more than the short snippets of time that are presently available. Before students have the time to respond to a presentation or essay sufficiently well, through directed dialogue, a cooperative activity or a writing assignment, the bell rings and they pack up for another class.

Given the limited time devoted to any single course, students also find themselves engaged in far too many courses, explored only superficially. No college student could imagine having to take seven different courses, and be expected to learn anything sufficiently well.

In addition to the above, our organization of time often prevents students and teachers from engaging in meaningful

learning experiences outside of school, or from inviting interesting presenters to the school, to share experiences and messages that cannot fit into a forty-five minute box.

Most importantly, every class should include a variety of activities, with students listening, speaking, writing, discussing, conducting cooperative activities, and creating other types of expressive products through a number of media. In turn, every teacher should be responsible for engaging students in these varied activities and for developing the range of skills imbedded in these activities. This just cannot be done in forty-five minute snippets.

Finally, the expectations we have for students are exceedingly low, and they must change if we expect them to perform to their fullest. Adolescents are constantly looking for limits, to determine what we **really** expect of them, and to determine what corners they can cut. If we allow them to come to school when they feel like it, many will never come on time. If we allow them to hang around without being productive, many will hang around, do as little as possible, and hope to cut a deal as the school year comes to a close. If we allow them to be passed along without the necessary skills and work habits, many will comply, even against their own best interests, as long as they can get over. Most importantly, as we allow all of this to happen, students not only comply, they learn (incorrectly so), and we teach, that this is what life is all about. The first person who tells them the truth is too often the employer who can't read their job application or the college admissions officer who rejects their application. This has to stop.

We need to expect students to come to school on time, attend to the business of learning on a daily basis, and be held accountable for academic achievement. Our work is far too important, the cost is too great, and the stakes are far too high, to allow us to compromise on these points. If we truly believe in the importance of our enterprise, we have to diligently protect the rights and interests of students who are working to get an education. Those students, on the high school level, who would get in the way of this business, or waste our precious time and resources, must not be allowed to participate in school until they're ready to work. With this in hand, we must do and can do a better job of ensuring that all of our teachers are doing their very best to serve our students well.

We also need to ensure that **all** of our graduates are creditable, and that the high school diploma is a certificate of achievement the public can count on. This can happen only if we're willing to expect more from students academically, if we're willing to hold all students accountable for selected common outcomes, and if we're willing to assess all students' progress through common instruments or products that will certify their skills and knowledge. Too many of our students are now pushed along until they graduate with insufficient skills and knowledge. Our report cards and transcripts have little meaning and are certainly not certificates of achievement. When a student enters high school reading at a fifth grade level, with no apparent

disabilities, it is not enough to allow him or her to graduate on the basis of four years' hard work or personal growth. All high school graduates must be able to read, understand, critique and respond to sophisticated material. This expectation cannot be compromised.

Few of our schools are structured to provide the expectations, environment, curriculum, instruction, crediting and scheduling opportunities mentioned above. We need to develop school environments and experiences that are demanding, engaging and motivating; and organizational structures that are flexible and responsive. We need to do this for the many students we're losing altogether, for those who are less successful than they might be, and for those who want a more stimulating, educative (or merely different) school experience.

The Response: I'm proposing a school design that breaks the mold of the traditional public high school. None of the practices included in the design are necessarily new. Many of these have been tried before, in schools I've visited, heard about, worked with or in. When they were employed together, in new schools or programs, they've had a powerful impact on the development of a valuable option for students. When employed in isolation, in existing schools, these practices, like transplanted organs, were often found to be incompatible with other practices of the school, and often struggled to function sufficiently well. Though their potential impact was significant, they often withered or died, isolated and undernourished. We need to create more schools where these practices can thrive, where the practices come together as a whole, and where there's a compatibility that makes the whole so much larger than the sum of the parts.

We need new schools characterized by each of the following elements:

1. a small school with a supportive and caring environment;
2. a curriculum centered on interdisciplinary, topical mini-courses and seminars including engaging, meaningful school-based and community application projects;
3. instruction that includes large and small-group cooperative learning activities, as well as independent and teacher-centered work;
4. a creative and flexible schedule and crediting system;
5. low student:teacher ratios;
6. a staff committed to a common mission and methodologies;
7. strong, supportive leadership and full school-community involvement in the definition of the school;
8. creative utilization of new technologies;
9. high academic and behavioral expectations for everyone, students and staff alike; and
10. an accountability/assessment system that ensures all graduates have earned their diplomas and all staff members are teaching their students how to read critically, how to problem-solve and how to express themselves well.

We also need these schools to serve as "learning labs", providing teachers, administrators, and universities involved in teacher

training with opportunities to explore, participate in and learn from the schools' practices.

The central goal of the schools would be to develop thoughtful, inquisitive, responsible and active citizens who value education and who can define and defend their values and beliefs. A key objective of the schools would be to increase school success for all students, as measured against commonly held standards applied to everyone, and to increase the sense of satisfaction and accomplishment for students who desire a different educational experience than is presently available.

THE STRUCTURE:

Composition: Each school should serve up to 400 regular education, bilingual and special education students, from grades nine through twelve. The schools should be staffed and funded on the same per capita basis as are other schools. The schools should exist as physically independent entities or as fully autonomous school-within-school programs.

Curriculum: The school should be non-grade-leveled, with the curriculum organized in two strands. The first strand would engage all new students in an introductory, skill-centered instructional program. The skills that would be taught would serve as prerequisite skills for continued study in the school (see "Appendix: Strand One (Initial Skills)"). During a student's first year(s) in the school, most instruction would center on the development of those fundamental reading, writing, speaking, computational, research and analytical skills required to complete true high school level work. Students would also be expected to learn how to operate the various instruments they'll need to employ in their subsequent studies, including a camera, a VCR, a keyboard, a basic function calculator, and a computer with various software applications, including word processing programs with spelling and grammar checks. Students would be allowed to "assess-out" as they demonstrated competence in the various skills, and when they did, they could begin to participate in the work of the second strand.

The curriculum of the second strand would be topical, interdisciplinary, and in most cases non-sequential (with math, in some cases, being the exception). Most of the coursework would be delivered through single term courses and single unit seminars, which would conclude, wherever possible, with student-conducted application projects or competitions.

Every teacher leading every course or seminar would be responsible for defining how students' skills in critical reading, writing, speaking, computation, research, critical thinking, questioning, and collaborating would be reinforced, improved and assessed. Teachers would be expected to explore the interdisciplinary nature of any course or seminar topic, and be required to define the departments in which credit could be earned, and the range of content and materials to be studied. Assessments would typically include research papers/presentations developed from focus questions that center each course or semi-

nar, position papers, quantitative projects, oral presentations and defenses, artistic productions, and other individually-designed exhibitions. Finally, as mentioned above, each course or seminar would conclude with student-conducted application projects designed to make the work of the course or seminar more directed and purposeful.

For example, a term course on "African-Americans in the Early 20th Century" could call upon students to study and present selected works of Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston; study, discuss and debate the competing philosophies of W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington; explore, chart and analyze the impact of the demographic shifts that were a product of the migrations of African-Americans from the South to the North; study, perform and compare bee-bop and rap; investigate and explain the growth of new technologies, many of which were invented by African-Americans; research or solicit and summarize oral histories from the era; and/or analyze and report on the historical and cultural significance of Harlem and its Renaissance. The application project for the course could call upon students to present their work as a unit of instruction to students in a local elementary or middle school, or to a group of senior citizens who were born in the early 20th century. Students might also produce a magazine, play or presentation to be distributed or performed during Black History Month. In any case, content, skills, instruction and assessment would be tied together in a project that was meaningful to the students, and in turn, gave greater meaning to all that was studied and learned (see additional examples in "Appendix: Course Project Examples").

Students would be required to earn a proscribed number of credits, including credits in each of a number of broadly-defined "departments": Mathematics and Technology; Languages and Literature; Science and Health; the Arts; History, Philosophy, Social Studies and Geography; and Life Skills/Career Preparation. A number of courses and seminars would be required for all students to complete as graduation requirements. The required courses and seminars would serve an important role in tying the curriculum together, giving it cohesion, and ensuring that students are exposed to fundamental and essential concepts and content, in and across the disciplines.

In addition to the above, many lectures and demonstrations would also be presented over the course of a school year, given by guest presenters as well as teachers and students. These presentations would be followed by seminars and other activities. These seminars and activities would provide students with the opportunity to summarize, critique and respond to the presentations, for credit. Study guides and learning packets would be prepared in advance for any presentation.

Community-based experiences would also play an important role in the school. All students would be required to complete a number of community-based projects, as part of regular course activities and as part of their life skills development and career preparation. Service projects would also be required of every student. The entire school community would also engage in periodic all-school service projects which would also play an

important role in the development of a sense of community and a commitment to service.

In addition to this, the school would work with any number of collaborative partners to structure short and long-term learning experiences in selected hospitals, businesses, service agencies, cultural organizations, government offices and other community-based organizations, as an integral part of a course, seminar or independent learning experience. These experiences would include shadowing and mentorship experiences, seminars and presentations, and internships. Each experience would also be interdisciplinary, requiring students to engage in a variety of activities and assessments. For example, a student involved in an internship at city hall could be required to read related works of literature (fiction and non-fiction) that would enhance the experience; write a journal of his/her experiences, and present an evaluation of the experience to the mentor in charge; and conduct other complementary activities that fit the experience (e.g. construct an organization chart; write up interviews with three city hall workers, including the mayor, researching a topic of importance; study and discuss a controversial motion that faces the city council, with a member of the council). Wherever possible, employees on-site would be recruited and trained to participate as mentor/assessors.

Crediting/Assessments: The work of the first strand would be credited as a package, with students earning these pre-requisite credits on a demonstration basis. To earn diploma points in the second strand, students would be required to complete assessments (typically including research papers/presentations, position papers, quantitative work, oral presentations and defenses, artistic productions, and other individually designed exhibitions) designed to generate credit in various departments. In most cases, these assessments would be the products of a course or seminar. In other cases, these assessments would define and generate credit for independent learning experiences.

Students would complete course and seminar assessments under the supervision of the teacher of the course or seminar. Independent learning experiences would be completed under the supervision of a teacher serving as a mentor, with students working individually or cooperatively. In some cases, outside resource people would also serve as mentor/assessors, and would work with students to define expected products and assessment criteria.

Once an assessment was successfully completed, a student would be awarded credit right away, rather than having to wait until the close of a semester or school year. A quality point system would be used, with the quantity of credit earned based on the quality of the student's work.

In addition to having course, seminar and independent learning assessments, students would be required to successfully complete additional assessments which would be administered outside of the regular classroom experience. These assessments would serve as more public and objective demonstrations of skill,

applied to varying tasks (see "Appendix: The Assessments" for examples). In some cases, the assessments would require the participation of volunteer assessors from outside the school. The school would make a conscious effort to involve members of the business, service and university communities in the development, implementation and reporting out of these assessments. The assessments themselves would be collected in a portfolio of students' work, to graphically demonstrate student growth, to parents, to the students, and to the employers or colleges that would be interested in the quality of the students' work. Additional course, seminar and independent learning assessments would also be collected in the portfolio, at the students' discretion.

Scheduling: The schedule would be flexible, allowing the school to manipulate time as it needed to do so, to conduct activities of varying length. Small school size would play an essential role in maintaining this flexibility and in providing opportunities for all-school activities.

Students would also be able to periodically "step in and out" of in-school activities, allowing (or requiring) them to take advantage of various community-based learning opportunities. This proviso would also allow students to respond to personal or family crises, when necessary, without jeopardizing an entire year's worth of credit.

Finally, given the instructional goals of the school, courses would typically need to run for 90-120 minutes, and students would be scheduled into four courses or other activities each day. Staff would also typically teach or conduct three courses/activities per day. Given this combination, the typical teacher would work with approximately seventy-five students each day, rather than the typical 125 they presently are asked to serve. By decreasing this ratio, teachers would have a much greater opportunity to know their students well and respond to their individual needs. Teachers and students would also have the time to explore their work in depth, and to create products that reflect a significant understanding of the content and the mastery of essential skills.

New Tools/Technology: As computers become cheaper each day, powerful instructional tools come closer to the hands of every student. The school would plan to take advantage of every opportunity provided by new technologies. Most particularly, one of the school's first goals would be to get a simple, inexpensive word processor, with spelling and grammar check, in the hands of every student. Given the school's emphasis on writing, the realization of this goal would be crucial. In addition to this, the school would set up one or more production centers, providing students access to printers, more powerful computers, various multimedia and production software, CD-ROMs, and modems to gain access to external data banks. Finally, given the recent advances in computer-assisted instruction, computers would also be employed to assist in reinforcing and assessing students'

knowledge and skills, and in individualizing instruction, where feasible.

The Staff: All schools should have a mission and methodology, and staff members who believe in and are committed to both. Though this rarely happens in public schools (as often as not because schools don't vary all that much), this must be the case in the proposed schools. The staff must consist of a team of teachers who are dedicated to the mission, who are generalists who see the need to focus on more than content and a single content area, and who are willing to learn and employ the schools' instructional techniques. Such schools need strong, supportive leaders who are creative, proactive, able to negotiate the political and fiscal challenges all schools must face, and who are aggressive advocates for teachers and students alike.

Staff members would have to see their roles extending beyond the classroom and other mentoring experiences. All staff members would be expected to get involved in extra or co-curricular activities, for which students could also receive credit. Finally, teachers would also need to be interested in being teachers of other teachers, by engaging in collaborative programs with other schools, and with schools of education in collaborating universities.

Finally, given the magnitude of the job, and the demands that would be placed on staff, it would be essential to provide staff with the time and continuing support that would allow them to grow, to learn, to share with one another, and to face the challenges of developing a new kind of school.

Commitment, Motivation and Community: The tasks students (and staff) would be expected to complete would be at least as demanding as any required in other high schools. In an effort to engender the type of hard work that would be expected, a tremendous amount of energy would be spent developing a sense of caring, belonging and community that would be emblematic of the school. The school would employ a variety of community-building activities, involving parents as well as students and staff, and build on these activities over time.

In another effort to build community, motivation and investment, students, staff, parents and community supporters would be involved in the governance of the entire school, and all students and staff would be involved in all-school community service projects, and in various school fairs, expositions and assemblies. In addition to this, all students would be assigned to a staff advisor who would be responsible for a team of students over their four years in the school. Significant work would go into building team spirit, team projects and peer support mechanisms, employing resources both in and outside the school.

Conclusion: The school described above represents a single design intended to better address the needs of some of our students. Though this school's design is in no way a panacea, each of the

practices described above are essential to the success of an urban school, and probably any school hoping to engage all its students. When any single element is missing, the entire enterprise is on softer footing. We need more schools that put all of these practices into effect, to better educate and support students who need and/or desire such schools, and to inform the entire education community about promising practices. Whether schools of this sort will require inspiring and extra- ordinary people to be successful, or whether the design of these schools has the potential to inspire otherwise average people, and make their efforts extraordinary, is of tremendous impor- tance. What is clear is that the missions and practices employed in many of our schools are at odds with many of our students and staff members. We need new schools, and new options, to bring these folks closer to their productive potential. When this requires a willingness to step outside of existing practices, contractual arrangements, and mandated regulations, we should be ready to make the move. Every child, every educator, and our society as a whole, has too much at stake to do otherwise.

The Role of the Federal Government: The federal government must play a more active role in the development and dissemination of promising practices, like those mentioned above, and schools that incorporate these practices. Wherever possible, the federal government should invest in efforts designed to remold the entire school enterprise rather than tinkering with the development of new but isolated practices in schools that will otherwise stay the same.

The best way for the federal government to do this work is through investments in and incentives for states, districts, individual schools and credible reform agents, like the Coalition of Essential Schools. The investments should focus on providing the transition money needed to get these schools up and running. Money is needed for planning, training and development time and resources; an initial investment in materials and technology; and an evaluation and re-tooling effort, particularly during a school's first three years. Just as importantly, money is needed to support the research and development efforts of states, districts, schools or reform agents working to create binding assessments that will include products that require all students to think, problem-solve and express themselves well, before they can receive a high school diploma.

The incentives should include increased federal dollars for states, districts, schools and reform agents that can demonstrate that more and more of the students they serve can think, problem-solve and express themselves well, as determined through quality assessments developed on a state or local level.

APPENDIX:

Strand One (Initial Skills): As a product of initial instruction, each student will successfully complete the following before moving ahead to the second strand (this list is not intended to be all-inclusive).

1. School-developed assessments measuring mastery of general math skills and concepts, and their application.
2. A well-written, basic position paper, including a position statement, three supporting statements, a disclaimer, a reference to a source document, and a summary statement.
3. A well-written summary of a poem, short story and book (from selected readings, minimum of seventh grade reading level).
4. A well-written book review and critique (from selected readings).
5. A well-written character sketch/critique.
6. A properly formatted and well-written business letter.
7. An outline of a chapter from a selected text.
8. A clear, concise summary of a lecture or demonstration (with accompanying notes).
9. An oral, interpretive presentation of a selected passage.
10. An oral presentation of a position paper.
11. A properly completed response form, summarizing/critiquing another student's presentation of a position paper.
12. Three well-written goal statements for his/her continued education, including a brief, descriptive action plan.

The student will be able to:

13. Operate a tape recorder/player, a VCR and a camera.
14. Compose a report or paper using a word processing program, and correct with a spelling and grammar checker.
15. Use a basic function calculator.
16. Type with basic-level speed and accuracy.
17. Gather information from primary and secondary sources, using various reference materials.

Course/Projects Examples: The chart below gives a number of examples of course or seminar topics and examples of application projects that might be generated by students. In most courses the activities that would precede the projects would be varied, including independent work, teacher lectures, cooperative learning activities, guest presentations and field trips, to name a few. Assessments would typically include research papers/presentations, reviews and critiques of literature, position papers, quantitative work, oral presentations and defenses, artistic interpretations, and other individually-determined exhibitions/presentations. Additional courses would also be designed for the expressed purpose of preparing for particular exhibitions or competitions (e.g. local and statewide Mock Trial competitions; the

national Academic Decathalon; local, regional and statewide Science Fairs; the Science Olympiad; the Harvard-supported and national Model United Nations competitions). Finally, issues of school concern would be addressed in a formal course on Leadership, including skill instruction in parliamentary procedures, negotiations and conflict resolution, and with interdisciplinary activities similar to other courses (e.g. studies/sketches of important historical figures, issues and court cases; reading and reporting on relevant works of literature...). The student government would serve as an ongoing application project, and students would earn credit for their participation and completion of related assessment products.

Course Seminar Topic	Application Projects
1. African-Americans in the Early 20th Century	a. Unit of instruction at a local elementary/middle school b. Presentations to a group of senior citizens c. School-wide presentations/play/production d. Presentations at a faculty in-service meeting e. Visual displays of artwork and historical photos, with short descriptive narratives, to be displayed in the school lobby, another school, or a local business or college. f. Mock trials (of Columbus, Hitler or other historic figures; re-creation of the Scopes trial)
2. The Holocaust	
3. Christopher Columbus: Villain or Hero	
4. Man, God and the Apes	
5. Local History, Culture and Folklore	a. Foxfire-style magazine b. see #1-#4 above
6. Selected local, state, national or international issues	a. Model United Nations, U.S. Senate, State Senate, City Council, School Committee b. see #1-#4 above

The Assessments: The following are examples of assessments that all students could be expected to successfully complete, as part of their graduation requirements. These are assessments that would be administered outside of the regular classroom experience. This list is not intended to be exhaustive. [Note: These assessments are adapted from the assessment programs in place in a number of Coalition of Essential Schools member-schools.]

1. In-House Position Paper: During March of their Junior year, students will be required to write a five page position paper during a prescribed amount of time, in school. Students will be provided with a number of questions and related articles, essays and other literature, in advance. Students will have two weeks to read the material and discuss it with whomever they choose. On "Position Paper Day", students will convene

in small groups, lead by a staff member or other group leaders, to discuss the readings in a seminar setting. At the close of the seminar session, and following a break for lunch, students will reconvene to write their position papers in "blue books", with school seals, that are handed out at the beginning of the session. Students will select the question they'd like to write on, write their position paper, including a position statement/paragraph, supporting statements/paragraphs, disclaimers, a summary statement/paragraph and at least three cited references to the readings. The position papers will be collected and scored by two assessors who will work from a common scoring system. (Students papers will be numbered and include no student's names.) If the paper is approved by both assessors, the student will have successfully completed the requirement. If one of the assessors finds the paper unacceptable, a third assessor will serve as a tie breaker. If neither assessor approves the paper, the student will be required to sit for a later session, to be conducted during the subsequent month. Students will be required to successfully complete the in-house position paper as one of their graduation requirements. This paper will be included in each student's permanent portfolio, and samplings of the papers will be read each year by the Headmaster and other independent readers.

2. Oral Defense: All students must successfully complete an oral defense of a position paper written for any selected course. The oral defense calls upon students to present their position papers in class, and defend the positions they take in their papers. Position papers are made available to other students in the class, in advance, and they're required to analyze the paper, in writing, and prepare challenging questions, to be asked on the day of the defense.

   Oral defenses are scheduled in advance, to allow the Headmaster and independent reviewers to view the sessions and provide feedback on the process. In addition to this, a videotape of a student's oral defense will be included in the student's portfoli.

3. Independent Readings: The various departments in the school have made up a list of challenging and accessible books, short stories, essays, poems, articles, primary source documents and other short passages not presently taught in any courses. Each student will be responsible for reading a prescribed number of these works over the course of his/her career in the school, as well as a minimum number of works from each category, and in various content areas. Each work will have a "point value". Students will have to accumulate a certain number of points over four years. After reading each work, the student will be assessed on his/her understanding of the work, using our own assessments, or ones that are already on the market. In any case, the assessment will have to be rigorous enough to ensure that the student had read the work

and understand it, in depth. The assessment will measure a student's ability to apply skills of importance to challenging, independent readings. Students will also earn points for graduation computed on a per work basis. Finally, students will be responsible for assessing a number of works through an oral session with staff members or collaborating volunteers, from local businesses, agencies and colleges, who are "in charge" of those works. In all possible cases, students will read and discuss these works in a small group setting (much like a Great Books group), to enrich their understanding of the reading. All assessors will be trained in facilitating Socratic discussions, and an evaluation protocal will be established to support the integrity of the assessment process.

4. The Editing Process: This assessment is used to determine whether or not students have sufficient mastery of the structure and usage of the English language. Students will be presented with an essay that includes significant errors in structure and usage, and be required to edit the essay. The assessment will be administered outside of class, late in a student's sophomore year, and must be passed, as a graduation requirement. The first administration of the assessment will be in March, with retakes available once per month, in April, May and June.

5. Math Assessment: Each year, all students are required to pass an assessment in Math that measures students' mastery of a basic set of Math competencies determined essential for success in any endeavor after high school. As students progress through the Math curriculum, the assessment also increases in difficulty. This binding assessment is administered in March, with retakes offered in April, May and June.

6. Geography: Through this assessment, students will have to demonstrate a variety of map skills and an understanding of critical geography facts. Students should be able to locate and identify (from memory) continents, states, major American cities, and countries, cities and landforms of international stature. They should also be able to chart points by distance and direction, as well as longitude and latitude. An assessment will be developed that will require students to apply all of these skills in a single creative exercise. The assessment will be given to students in January, with retakes available on a monthly basis. A variety of assessments will be developed to ensure the reliability of the retake process.

7. Independent Research/Position Paper: Students will be expected to complete the following:
   a. a fully documented, twenty page research/position paper on a topic that has been approved by a selected teacher mentor, in preparation for
   b. a presentation and defense of the research/position paper, conducted with the teacher-mentor and another adult who is personally or professionally engaged in grappling with the student's chosen topic.

Chairman KILDEE. Thank you very much. I thank all the witnesses.

Let me start with a couple questions here. I think, Dr. Slavin, you mentioned family support, and that seems to run through all successful programs, the programs that the Federal Government has established, those that involve the family generally are more successful ones, the Head Start Program, Chapter 1 Programs.

Let me ask you this question. How do we accomplish this? How do we get the family involved, particularly if we find a troubled family? I used to use the term "a typical family" but I don't know what a typical family is anymore, because there are so many lifestyles out there, and the traditional, mother stay at home, father go to work is the exceptional thing now. But we do have some troubled families, not just in the urban areas, very often in the rural areas, too, are some troubled families.

How do we get the families involved when the family unit, itself, is, say, seriously troubled and if we cannot get them involved? What can we do to supplant that or take the place of that, that situation or that family support?

Mr. SLAVIN. Well, I think the last part of your question gets to something that I talk about sometimes as the dark side of parent involvement. The dark side is that I think that there has been so much emphasis on parent involvement that sometimes school folks are, you know, now saying, well, with families like that, what can you do? If they are not going to be involved, we are not really responsible for their children, and I think that we have to start with the idea that the school has the responsibility to do whatever it takes to see that children are successful, and to involve their families as much as is humanly possible, because that makes it easier. But never to say that if you can't get them involved, that you can't substitute for that in some way.

Now, how do you get a broad range of parents involved? This is something that we are learning to do within our projects. It varies enormously from community to community. What we find is if there are some kinds of activities that will draw lots of parents into the school, one of our most successful is something that we call Books and Breakfast, where we provide a very simple breakfast for parents. They come in with their kids, and we demonstrate to them some of the kinds of reading activities that are happening in class and then they do them immediately on the spot with their own kids, and, you know, we are teaching them some strategies for using books with their kids at homes. They then take the books home, the very books—those same books home and read them to their kids in specific ways that are known from research to be very effective.

We find enormous participation from parents in that kind of activity that we find that the parents are much more likely to come if their kid is involved, if it is a kid's performance, or if they are going to do something with their kid than if you just have them come to back-to-school night and so on, but there are parents that will not come to the school, no matter how attractive you make events and activities at the school building, and you have got to be ready for that as well.

One of the things that a couple of our schools worked out on their own, they got themselves designated as surplus food distribution sites, so parents who were coming for surplus food had to set foot in the building. And the staff, on the days when the food was distributed, the staff was keyed, especially the administrators, to look for those parents who had never set foot in the school before and sidle up to them and start talking about what a good job Johnny is doing.

In many cases we have been able to do home visits to parents and to—but all of this at a bare minimum, bare minimum. The one thing that you have got to accomplish is to see that the parents feel as though the school is concerned about them and their children and that the first call from the school is not: Your kid is in trouble. For so many parents, that is the case, and it builds a very negative relationship between the parents and the school when this happens.

So the school has to go all out at the beginning to see that positive contacts with the school staff take place, and that you then have a variety of ways that you can engage parents at their own level of interest and participation in what is going on in the school to be supporting their child's success.

Chairman KILDEE. Anyone else on the panel want to comment on that?

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. With regards to troubled families, one of the techniques that we have used in Accelerated Schools is to have those families that do get involved develop mechanisms to reach those that are not involved, and we find that very often parents have not had good experiences themselves in school so they are not going to be too eager to come to school and, as Dr. Slavin said, when their contact is always negative, when they always arrive at school feeling they have to apologize for who they are, what they are, and the condition of their children, they are not going to come.

When you do get parents involved in trying to trigger the involvement of other parents, it seems to be more effective because they seem to speak a common language, share common problems, and one of the mechanisms we have used is trying to overcome the disjointedness that exists in schools.

We found that even schools that have the broad spectrum of services, we have people working in isolation of each other. We have counselors in schools, we have social workers in schools, we have nurses in some schools, and a host of teachers. No one communicated and collaborated. That is one of the cultural changes we try to bring about in a school, and when you get people to work in concert, you can pool the resources, and are better in touch with the broader community resources.

You can have parenting sessions in which you can inform parents about resources and then use these parents as outreach parents to reach those families that just will not come into the school, those parents for whom you fear, simply by getting to know their kids, you fear that they are troubled families. Using parents to reach out to other parents has been very effective.

Chairman KILDEE. Yes, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Just one little footnote. On the high school level, it is, I think, particularly difficult to get parents involved because they

have already experienced so many years of lack of involvement or success in working with schools. But where we are experiencing our greatest success has been when we have created small schools within school programs that were families in and of themselves, and when parents came into the schools, just like the kids who are coming into the high schools, it is an incredibly intimidating experience.

You walk into a large building that is serving 15, 1,600 students. You have got 100 some odd teachers. You have got administrators in different spots throughout the building. That is as frightening to a parent as it is to a new student coming in after middle school. When we have had these smaller school units that in and of themselves are created, they have had a far greater effect in reaching out to parents. And when parents come in, they have created a much more comfortable environment where the parents feel like they, too, are welcomed and they can feel like a part of that community.

Chairman KILDEE. Let me ask one more question, then I will go back to some questions. One of the bills that we have reported out of committee encourages schools to bring into the school building the Department of Health and the Department of Social Services. You mentioned food distribution as one of the magnets maybe to the parent.

Do you think that is desirable and is it practical to encourage that, and how widespread do you think it would become if the Federal Government would give some financial assistance to bring that about?

Mr. SLAVIN. This notion of service integration and particularly of locating services within the school building is something that we take seriously as part of our model. We have been inconsistent in the degree to which we can pull it off based on local factors, but in many cases we have been able to get the Health Department to locate somebody within a building, or we have been able to get the Mental Health Services better integrated with what is going on with the school, done things in a variety of ways to get that integration to occur. Very hard work to do without an outside impetus, so I am pleased to hear that you are talking about legislation and funding that may help it happen.

People have serious problems in terms of turf and the way things have always been and a lot of the kinds of experiments that have gone on around the country have essentially failed. A lot of the things that the Carnegie Corporation, for example, have funded have failed in terms ever getting service integration because of these longstanding turf issues that are so hard to resolve.

To me, the most important thing you have got to do is get people in the school building who have a broad range of abilities to serve families and a commitment to see that you follow through. A big problem with social service delivery generally is that families may get referred for services, but they may not ever go and get them, or they get them and they may not work, and they don't go back and stick with it until it happens.

We have a lot of experience with eyeglasses. For example, there are kids who are known who have vision problems. They are assigned to—they get a prescription, but nobody ever fills it. Or if it

does get filled, the glasses get broken, they don't get replaced, or they are obtained and the kids don't bring them to school. You have to have somebody in the school who is making sure that not only is the prescription made, but it is followed through and it makes a difference, and that the kid is reading better on that basis. Or if you have kids that need immunizations or that are having other kinds of problems, social service problems at home, parents without heat, somebody has got to follow through and see that the service is provided and it made a difference, rather than have separate things where you just have referrals to many different agencies.

Chairman KILDEE. Anyone else care to comment? Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I would just like to say that I think that integration is absolutely essential. At English High we have had as many as 17 different agencies providing services at English High to kids. We have got day care services, mental health, health services, we have had probation officers, you name it, at the school. When funding dried up, we lost a number of those services and it has had an incredibly negative impact on the building.

We have not had problems with turf issues, though I understand them. It has taken a lot of work on the part of all the agency heads working together to work through those turf issues, but just interestingly enough, and I don't know how much of interest this might be to you, but our bigger problem has to do with catchment areas, social services or any kind of service providing—agencies providing services to students in a single catchment area. DSS is a good example of that, and when we had kids from around the city at English High, our big problem came when DSS was willing to commit a person into English High, but English High couldn't be designated—the kids at English High couldn't be designated as a catchment area of its own so that a single person from a single agency could provide services to all our kids.

Chairman KILDEE. Many years ago, when I first came to Congress, and I would still do the same thing, voted to create the Department of Education, which I think was very important to elevate education to a higher cabinet level, status in the executive branch. Prior to that we had what was called—remember the old HEW, Health, Education and Welfare—now we have HHS and Department of Education. I still feel that my vote was correct and would support the Department of Education, but who—and this will be my last question before I refer to the member from Rhode Island. Who is in charge in that school of the other agencies?

I mean, does it generally work rather smoothly? If someone has to be called out of class by someone from social services or health or mental health services, who really is in charge?

Mr. SMITH. I can only speak for English High, but a prerequisition for any agency to come in is for everybody to know that the Headmaster, in this case, me, I was in charge, and everybody, even though they worked for other agencies, they were working for English High School first when they were in that building.

Chairman KILDEE. That does work out?

Mr. SMITH. That has worked.

Chairman KILDEE. Anyone else have any comments on my last two questions or——

Mr. SLAVIN. Just to say also when we have worked out collaborative arrangements, we have done the same, that we may have people who are loaned by the Department of Social Services or loaned by the Health Department, but the principal still runs the ship.

Chairman KILDEE. All right, Mr. Reed.

Mr. REED. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Dr. Slavin, I was reading your testimony and your comments about Chapter 1, particularly about the need to perhaps reorient the program for more teacher enhancement and teacher training. I found your suggestion to be very interesting. It follows some anecdotal evidence and perhaps my own intuition as what might be done.

Could you comment about that, particularly the notion of the circuit riders, bringing people into the classroom, presumably experienced teachers, who would teach teachers how to teach in a more effective fashion? That is something that I think we should really begin to emphasize much more with Chapter 1.

Mr. SLAVIN. I definitely agree. One of the things that we know for sure about implementation of innovations is that workshops won't do it. You have got to have follow-up. The quality of follow-up is vastly more important than the quality of the initial training, and so often when we do provide staff development, it is a half-day workshop and that is that everybody go and do likewise. If you are serious about changing schools and changing what happens between teachers and students, what this is going to mean is having people who are expert in particular instructional strategies that are based on research that have been evaluated, are known to be effective, who then work with schools, work with teachers, to not only to do training, but also to be able to visit them in their classrooms and give them feedback on what they are doing; to have groups of teachers get together and discuss what they are doing and exchange solutions to problems and ideas; have what we call gripe sessions, talk about the problems they are having.

There is always somebody in the building solving a problem that someone else has got. You have got to make that connection occur. To do the real where-the-rubber-meets-the-road kind of in-service follow-up that really gets teachers to be able to change their fundamental practices, my sense of an ideal world—you know, Chapter 1, would be that States or localities or intermediate units would have an expert on, let's say, writing process, and an expert on cooperative learning and an expert on tutoring, an expert on—you know, each of several things, teachers who have learned these things, who are outstanding in themselves, who then have the opportunity to work with others to help them to replicate and adapt those methods to their own needs.

Mr. REED. Let me follow up, too. It seems also that your research has indicated that the value of instructional aides in the classroom is very limited, and yet I presume you might know—you probably know better than I—that we extend a lot of Chapter 1 moneys precisely on instructional aides. Could you comment on that, and then I would like the other panelists to comment.

Mr. SLAVIN. Yes. There have been several studies over the years that have looked at the effects of, first off, what are instructional aides doing and, secondly, what effects do they have on student

performance, and the answer is that what instructional aides are primarily doing is not instructional activities, even Chapter 1-funded instructional aides.

The instructional activities they are doing is often very much at the margin of what is going on at school. They are often in class checking up with kids on their seat work, and perhaps for those reasons, the effects of having instructional aides, basically have been zero in a number of studies. The best of them is the recent Tennessee class size study.

In a 4-year study that, in addition to looking at differences in class size, also compared over a 4-year period, students who had classes that always had an instructional aide to students randomly chosen, identical students in identical schools who did not, and the effects after 4 years of having an instructional aide were 0.00, and I think that that is a serious—I am not saying that aides have no use.

There is evidence, for example, that paraprofessionals can be effective in one-to-one tutoring, but the usual way that aides are used in schools turns out to be—to have very little impact on students.

Mr. REED. Other comments by other panelists about this topic of redeploying Chapter 1 assets?

Mr. SMITH. I would just like to support the notion of spending more money on staff development. Also Dr. Slavin's concept of having people on site who are able to carry people through the transition from a workshop to actually employing a technique in their classroom.

I just want to at least heighten folks' awareness that because of the fact of local cuts in education throughout the country, if that assistance was brought into English High School, that would be wonderful. However, I don't have any time during the day to release teachers to get that kind of support and training because of cuts and because of—we are an urban school system. I have got folks on doors covering the doors during the day and P&D is the only time that they have to grab a lunch and eat for 5 minutes. So there are structural impediments within school buildings that makes it difficult to deliver that service well, but that service, I think, should be a primary concern in thinking about how to spend Chapter 1 funds.

Mr. REED. Ma'am.

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. I would like to speak to a phenomenon that we have noticed; that is the regular classroom teachers' attitude about those children that receive Chapter 1 services. Without misleading you and having you believe that teachers have actually articulated this, it is a behavior that we have observed, that regular classroom teachers take less responsibility for children who are identified as Chapter 1 because they are allegedly getting the special services. That is one of the attitudes we attempt to attack to get every teacher to feel responsible for every child and to redefine success in order that every child can experience success.

Staff development is going to be very necessary such that every child—because children who are classified Chapter 1, it is a minimal part of their day, the bulk of their day is spent with the regular teacher. Teachers need to be retrained; they need to retool.

As to the problem of time, in our schools, all the constraints that anyone can speak of do exist in Louisiana. In individual schools, teachers have come up with innovative ways of finding the time to get the training, to get the retooling, and professional development that they need. By university personnel being in schools on a regular basis, what they do is identify their needs to us and work out situations. There may not be everybody in the school that has an interest or a need for development in a specific area. If six does, then they work out a mechanism for being released.

Some of those mechanisms are team teaching, the mathematics units, several cross-classroom subject teaching such that, with the use of aides, and I concur with Dr. Slavin's observation about instructional aides in the schools, but with the use of aides, they are able to overcome the required adult-to-student supervision ratios and one teacher can actually handle three classrooms of kids, thus relieving two teachers to be in another part of the school for staff development.

When the development is ongoing, then you do not need to absorb a whole day or a half day if you are going to return every week, as we do from the university, to work with teachers. This is the only way we are going to overcome some of the deficits that traditional education has instilled in our teachers and overcome the attitude that I am not really responsible for this child. They are Chapter 1 and they are either going to get what they need in the pull-out or they are not.

Mr. REED. Thank you. Just a follow-up. Teachers back in Providence, Rhode Island, in an urban school system very similar to the Boston system, have told me that years ago there would actually be senior teachers coming into the classroom and watching them teach, and because of the budget crisis, which is not recent, but persistent, that stopped. I know you have been talking about freeing up time for teachers to leave the classroom and go and get staff development, but another aspect of this, I believe, is actually having someone come in and watch a teacher teach and give them face-to-face immediate feedback as to what they are doing.

Is that something that you would see would be appropriate or helpful?

Mr. SLAVIN. It is essential. It is essential. If you are talking about change, if you are talking about innovation, it is essential. That kind of in-classroom observation feedback can take place with pure coaching where you have others in the building who can come and watch and exchange ideas with each other or you can have expert coaches or circuit riders that go around to different schools, but one way or another it has got to happen. Also what you are talking about reminds me of something else which I think is extraordinarily important, and that is induction.

We often send out new teachers into the toughest schools. New teachers are more likely to be in Chapter 1 schools than are experienced teachers, where they often crash and burn. A lot of them don't make it past Christmas, bright, energetic good teachers, but don't make it past Christmas because they are stuck out in schools. Nobody looks in on their classroom. A couple, three times somebody comes by. Chapter 1 schools should become schools of excellence, schools of innovation, schools where teachers are learning to

do the very best, experienced teachers, as well as new teachers. They should be schools in which teachers coming in know that this is a place in which they are going to learn the very best that we have to offer in terms of instructional methods, and they are going to get the follow-up to do a good job. I think that would solve a lot of problems we have in terms of induction, in terms of teachers, you know, trying to transfer out of Chapter 1 schools as fast as they possibly can.

We have to have a very different view of what the school climate is going to be like for all teachers in Chapter 1 schools if we want to make fundamental change.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to agree with the notion of having master teacher in the classroom. Again, that takes a significant amount of time, not only in the classroom, but what is that time during the day when the teacher is going to sit with the master teacher? I also want to say, though, that when we are talking about staff development, most of my experiences in the area of staff development have resulted in a snapshot where the staff developer training is already converted and is helping those who are already in the bag, so to speak, to become a little bit better. You have to create a need on the part of teachers and school buildings to be invested in this effort.

I have to say, as a Chapter 1 school, I get my Chapter 1 resources year after year regardless of how I produce, and I think that is wrong, and I think that there has to be something conditional here.

The school has to—and it has to be the teacher and the administrators. They have to be invested. They have to show improvement or they either lose the Chapter 1 money or they are removed, and I think unless you have conditions like that, you are never going to have staff development efforts that do anything but reach the folks who are already converted, and you won't have the larger impact of a whole school changing and an entire staff and an administrator changing unless you make some kind of conditional arrangements.

Mr. REED. That goes back, I think, to your point about assessment.

Mr. SMITH. Absolutely.

Mr. REED. In this context, what type of assessment are you talking about, a school-wide assessment as a predicate to Chapter 1 financing or——

Mr. SMITH. I think you have to—I think if you are going to—as with anything, you have to define what it is that you are looking for, what is a kid able to do, what does a kid know and is able to do as a product of receiving these Chapter 1 resources or any resources, whatever they might be. Define that product, and to my mind build an assessment system around that and evaluate whether or not the school is, in fact, teaching kids and producing kids who can do and who know the kinds of things that you have said those kids will know and be able to do when they leave. And if they are not, or if you are not showing progress in this area, then, yes, I do think that the funding should be conditional, or a superintendent, speaking in my case, can come to Sid Smith and say, listen, you are getting this money to do something. You are not

doing it. Either you get it done or I am going to find somebody who can get it done.

Mr. REED. I think your points are well taken and I will only respond, not to be argumentative at all, but that the Federal input into elementary and secondary education is maybe 8 percent or so. Your Chapter 1 moneys are a modest part of all the budgets of the schools we are talking about, and yet I think the issue is broader than that.

What about all the State and the local dollars that are going into Chapter 1 schools and other types of schools, and yet not provoking this type of assessment, this type of standard setting.

Mr. SMITH. You are absolutely right. I am talking to representatives of the Federal Government this morning.

Mr. REED. I understand that. Your comments are well taken and——

Mr. SMITH. I think you are right on the money, though. If it is not a collaboration between Federal, State and districts, and individual school buildings, it is not going to work.

Mr. REED. Thank you.

Mr. SLAVIN. Let me put in a pitch for something that is wild-eyed and radical, but is going to be part of the report that is coming out of the Commission on Chapter 1 organized by the Council of Chief State School Officers. Just as you say, we have a ridiculous situation of school financing in our country. Where in every European country, in Japan, everywhere else in the world, they have formulas that try to equalize funding for poor schools with those of wealthier schools, or to provide more to the poor schools.

As you know, combining Chapter 1 with local—State and local funds in districts all across America does not equalize funding for poor children and oftentimes people think that Chapter 1 is doing some of that equalization. We are going to be proposing that Chapter 1 dollars be withheld from States that are not moving to equalize funding across their various school districts, and I think it is a—it would be a harsh thing to do, but necessary in some sense because, as you say, you cannot expect the Federal Government to patch up things that the State and local agencies should be doing on their own.

Mr. REED. Any other comments? I have just one final question, and in the world of shorthand and, could you give me a sense of what are the three or four top obstacles to fulfilling your vision of what the American schools should be? And I know that is a vision that is also under debate precisely on how do you assess, et cetera. But if you were asked, as I am now, what are the three obstacles in your position, the Headmaster of Boston English, Dr. Slavin, as a researcher, and Ms. Allen-Haynes, in the Louisiana school systems? If you could just give us those, I think that would be useful. It doesn't have to follow your testimony or anything. You can talk about something else. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I will take the first shot, but it is something that—since it is my three top, I don't want to miss on this.

Mr. REED. We can have five if you like.

Mr. SMITH. Well, for me, and again, this speaks about the assessments, too. I don't think—we haven't defined what every kid has to know and be able to do when they graduate. We have got to do

that and we have got to come up with what is, to my mind, an assessment program, whatever it may be, that ensures that we are, in fact, producing what we say we are going to produce, and that—and I think once we do that, that will drive much of the curriculum or instruction or will certainly help to drive curriculum and instruction.

The major impediments for me are the ridiculous contracts, union contracts that we have, teachers, administrators, custodians, you name it, that get in the way of any of us getting together and working on this problem and solving it well. I am told more of what I can't do than what I can do, and that has to do with what I can or can't do in my own position, what I can and can't do with a teacher, what I can and can't do with a custodian, and just anecdotally, I was is in North Carolina meeting with some folks, talking about the situation that exists in North Carolina where they don't have these contractual impediments, and I couldn't believe the difference in the quality of life of an administrator or a teacher as defined by—again, these contracts, Massachusetts, North Carolina.

The third greatest, I suppose, impediment—I mean, it is dollars and cents. It really is. It is just too broad and too massive to speak about. I touched on it here when I talked about—when I walked into English High School I found that 75 percent of my staff had second jobs. And they didn't have second jobs just because they wanted to get rich. They had second jobs because they wanted to put food on the table, and these were not people who came to education cynical and down on kids. They came to education as bright-eyed as any of us, but they cannot afford, in many cases, to spend the time that is absolutely essential for a professional educator to do the job that is required of them, particularly working with poor and disadvantaged kids, and until we address that, until we speak to the needs of the individual educators who are in there on day-to-day basis beating their brains out trying to provide good services to kids and reward them appropriately, I think we are going to be up against an impossible task.

Mr. REED. Thank you.

Mr. SLAVIN. I think certainly I agree about a need for resources in high poverty schools. There is no question about it. The notion that money doesn't matter may be true in some bizarre, academic fashion, but right where the instruction takes place, it is clearly false. That money used for particular kinds of purposes clearly makes a difference, and we can see much better from our—from disadvantaged kids and disadvantaged schools, but it is going to cost money.

I think there is another obstacle I just want to quickly mention, and this is about assessments, and I think a lot—there is a serious problem in terms of the assessments that we use, that in many cases they are counter-productive, and this really goes to the heart of the program improvement guidelines that are in the 1988 reauthorization. I think in general they were a real improvement in that they got schools focused on outcomes, instead of merely compliance, and I think the process is at least a reasonable starting point, but the program improvement guidelines, I believe, have a number of perverse incentives in them, that they, through nobody's—I am sure nobody planned for this, but they reward you for

retaining more children. They reward you for teaching a narrow curriculum that is very closely keyed to the tests themselves.

They reward you for late intervention rather than early intervention, and I think that we have to look at assessment systems that will reward the right behavior. I fully agree about the importance of having accountability and having assessment-driven instruction, but it has got to be the kinds of assessments that reward the school for teaching a broad and appropriate curriculum to all students and to promoting students with success through the grades.

The third thing—it is not really on my list of obstacles, but rather on a list of how do we go from here, is really related to the things I have been talking about. I think the biggest thing we have got to do is to stop expecting that changes in regulation, changes in assessment, changes in organizational structures, things far from the level of the classroom are going to make a difference. We have got to be gearing our Federal efforts, State efforts, local efforts to changing what teachers do in the classroom. This means R&D for identifying effective practices and doing third-party evaluations of presumably effective practices so that we have confidence, the same way the FDA gives us confidence that a particular drug is safe and effective.

We need to have third-party evaluations of that kind of education so that when people use a given program, they know that it is not merely the developer that is saying this, but that we know that this kind of thing is effective, that we have systems of staff development that provides the release time in the school day for teachers, particularly in Chapter 1 schools, to be able to constantly be refining their instructional strategies, to be learning about new approaches and more effective approaches, to be experimenting with them, to be assessing results of those innovations and sticking at teaching until we get the outcomes that we know we can get from children.

I think that that is not an obstacle but rather a—the lack of this couldn't be posed as an obstacle, but we talk about how do we really make a difference in schools that serve disadvantaged kids. That is the kind of thinking that you have to be doing.

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. One thing to say being last, two out of three of mine are gone, and the other one is just sort of a summation statement for what has been said before. But I think, third on my list, I had a change in—attitudinally, moving from just giving lip service to the connection between education and all other social ills that we are faced with and actually rolling up our sleeves and looking at where it actually starts—in the classroom as Dr. Slavin said—and making all the resources available to make sure that when a child enters school, the goals and objectives are clear, the teachers are prepared to teach and the children are prepared to learn.

I concur with Dr. Slavin on moving away from assessment-driven practices and looking at those practices which create a whole individual, not those practices which prompt teachers to teach tests in order that the child be able to regurgitate facts, and have a practice or a program assessed well for continued funding, but look at whether or not the child is understanding what is being taught,

whether the connection is actually being made there, and whether the whole individual is being developed.

Mr. REED. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Reed, for your excellent questions.

Let me just ask one question, and then I will refer to the other members who arrived here. What would you consider to be the most important element of flexibility that we could put in Chapter 1? I think all of us on this committee feel that we should have some flexibility. Not only within Chapter 1, but among other programs that serve the same child.

Very often a child coming in your front door is served by Chapter 1, maybe in math, science, maybe bilingual, but within Chapter 1, what element of the flexibility would be most helpful to you in your respective schools?

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. One of the things that we have observed is the limitation on the expertise that has developed in certain Chapter 1 teachers. One of the anecdotal memories that come back to me, that I could offer to you, is a rural school in Louisiana where a Chapter 1 service was being offered to six children in that school who were identified as having articulation and reading problems. If you know anything about rural Louisiana, everyone that lives there has articulation problems, and I have difficulty understanding how you identify six children with those problems in that part of the country. If the service is coming into the school, I think there are more than six children that can benefit from the use of it; and if those skills that some teachers have learned to use to overcome and eradicate certain deficits in children are essential, then I think all teachers should have them, and these skills ought to be modeled for all teachers in a school and not held in isolation for a small percentage of the children in any given school.

Chairman KILDEE. Dr. Slavin.

Mr. SLAVIN. I guess I am of two minds on the issue of flexibility, and I guess anyone who thinks about this must be of the same two minds.

On the one hand you can see, as we do within our own programs, the serious problems that you always run into because of the restrictive regulations, particularly in non-school bought Chapter 1 schools; and you can see that for those schools, it would be wonderful if you could commingle funds of special education with bilingual education, and with other sources of funding within the school.

But on the other hand, you have things like the observation that is being made now that the great majority of school-wide projects are simply using their dollars to reduce class size by small amounts that are—you know, where the research says class size makes a difference, there are big differences, and they are not making the kind of differences that would likely make a big difference in achievement, so there is a case against flexibility in a sense.

And, you know, how do you achieve—how do you make sure that schools are using effective practices, using the flexibilities to—you know, to proper ends is the big question.

My own belief is that we should, first off, be focusing on having appropriate kinds of accountability and assessment programs so that schools that do ineffective things with increased flexibility will begin to see that they are in trouble, that they need to do something else, and that hopefully over time they will be driven more toward more effective kinds of practices.

Another thing, I think that there is a need to have a specific set-aside of Chapter 1 dollars for staff development because the history of staff development is that, given flexibility, people will immediately spend the money on reducing class size and aides, things that generally make the teachers' life easier, but don't necessarily make the students perform any better; and setting aside money that can only be used for professional development, in my view, would be one way to be sure that at least a portion of the money is used for improving the skills and practices that are going on within the school.

I did say previously I think that the criteria for—that the free lunch eligibility for school-wide projects should be reduced, perhaps all Chapter 1 schools should become school-wide projects at some point, but—but I am cautious. I think we have to be clear that we are identifying effective ways to use flexibility and to use Chapter 1 dollars before we simply say, everybody just use the dollars anyway you like.

Chairman KILDEE. Going from 75 to 50 percent you feel would be a cautious approach though?

Mr. SLAVIN. Yes, I do. I think it would be good, but I think that—and we ought to be thinking about the 1998 reauthorization—we should all live so long—and be thinking about progressive change in that figure over time.

But we need to be learning a lot more than we are learning today about how to make use of the effective school-wide opportunity. Rather than saying, now there is flexibility, we need to be experimenting with ways of using that flexibility in advance of the time when we provide it.

Chairman KILDEE. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I would just concur with what my co-presenters have mentioned. To me, the issues are basically staff development and increasing school-wide initiatives. We have one school-wide initiative that is going on called Reading for Points, which is something that is going to impact all of the school, all of the kids in the school. It is going to, we think, have a significant impact on their reading skills, and the Chapter 1 kids or Chapter 1-eligible kids are merely a subset of that larger school population and that initiative. We had problems freeing up Chapter 1 money to help support that effort, but I think it is the perfect kind of effort that Chapter 1 moneys should be devoted to in the future. So maybe a greater flexibility in defining what these school-wide initiatives might be.

Chairman KILDEE. One thing we are finding out in Gundrey Elementary School in Flint, Michigan is that we are working with Michigan State University, Department of Education, and they are coming in to do staff development. It is a very exciting thing for the staff, but, in turn, what Michigan State is finding out is that when they go back to train teachers initially, they are changing some of their ways, they are training teachers by really being right

out there in those laboratories, those classrooms. Not only are they helping the teachers within say Gundrey School in staff development, but when they go back to initially teach teachers, they have picked up a great deal from that experience too, so there is a two-way growth there.

Mr. Hayes.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and let me apologize for my tardiness to you and the witnesses. It is so often that we have hearings scheduled at the same time when you serve on two or three different committees. This is my problem. I do have one or two questions to which I would like to have a response. It could be repetitive; that is one of the disadvantages of coming in late.

For many disadvantaged children, mere survival is key, as you know. Children in my district sometimes dodge bullets going to and from school. They may live in violent home settings or may even be homeless. It is clear that these conditions directly impact on their ability to learn. How are your programs specifically tailored to address children with these kinds of concerns or problems?

Mr. SLAVIN. I think I will start because you just described a lot of the schools that we work with.

I think that it is easy to despair about the situation in a lot of our urban schools. Many of the schools that we work with in inner-city Baltimore, inner-city Philadelphia, inner-city Memphis are ones that—where, just as you described, these are drug-infested neighborhoods that children have en route a not atypical experience of seeing somebody dead, from time to time, in their housing project or on the street somewhere. They have very, very difficult lives in a lot of ways, and the school, for them, is often a haven against what is happening on the streets.

But I think you have to—while it is easy to read the newspaper and to know what is going on in the broader community, I see enormous hope in these schools. Now, of course, I am dealing primarily with elementary schools, and a lot of the problems come later on; but if you look at first graders, from the toughest neighborhoods in the toughest cities in America, they are there to learn, they are highly motivated, they expect they are going to succeed. They expect that the schooling is going to be fun, it is going to be useful to them, it is going to pay off to them in the long run.

We have a responsibility, while at the same time—as we try to deal with the issues of drugs and violence and with the issues of inequity in our society and poverty in our society, at the same time as we do those things, we have also got to be working to see that those little 5-year-olds and 6-year-olds, that their expectations that they come to school with turn out to be true, and we know that we can do that if we treat each one of them as though they are going to be successful and if we organize resources to make sure that they never experience failure.

If you look at children in these terrible neighborhoods that we work with over time, if they are reading, if they are succeeding in school, they feel as though they can handle anything; and they are going to be less likely, we feel, to be involved in some of the violence and the drugs and the early pregnancy and so on that their older brothers and sisters have been involved with.

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. Approximately 80 percent of the schools that we work with in Louisiana fit the description of the schools in your district. And I would like to state that our research on parent attitudes and parent involvement indicates that even parents in homes that are involved in drugs, even those parents who do live on the edge of illegality do want the best for their children. They want their children to succeed; they want their children to be better than them, and the children arrive at school feeling that they can be.

What our program does is try to work with school personnel to get them to understand that very often success is just coming to school for some of these kids. We try to get them to redefine success within the reality of the actual child's life situation and begin there. Developing an understanding for the conditions that a lot of children live in begins at the university, however, and that is one thing that our work in schools informs, and that is the training that is offered to our future teachers.

You might want to propose a course called Reality 101, because there is nothing in traditional teacher preparation programs that tells them what they are going to be confronted with when they are going to an inner-city school that is bounded by three public housing units. They—often universities have had the practice of sending their student teachers out to do their observation, and their students work in the better schools, so that there is less hassle, so that they will stay in education and they will graduate. The reality is, when they get to the school district, however, school districts have to deal with trying to keep the good teachers they already have so they assign the naive teachers to the worst schools where teachers are requesting transfers out, because teachers, too, have to dodge bullets to get to school in the morning, teachers, too, have to be confronted with the fact that when they get out at 3 o'clock, 3:15, their car may not be there or it may be inoperable if it is still there. So very often veteran teachers are transferring out, and now those novice teachers are assigned to those schools.

It has to happen at their preparation program, and it has to be introduced to them with some hope. It cannot be offered to them, as this is the downside of the job. It has to be offered to them as, this is the reality and this is how you deal with it, this is how it is overcome; and I think the bottom line is that we always have to remember is, regardless to where a child finds himself in life, he always believes he can. It gets destroyed at some point after he arrives at school.

Chairman KILDEE. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I am headmaster of a school in Boston that serves kids like the kids you are describing and is located in a neighborhood right smack dab in the middle of the neighborhood you just talked about. And I share other folks' feelings that my kids are good kids who want to learn. They don't come to school, by and large, to cause trouble or to be a pain in my neck or anybody else's neck; they want to come to school to learn. But one thing that they have learned all too well is that we really—and we meaning—I am not talking about English High School in particular, but schools in general and urban schools probably particularly; we really don't expect that much from them. We don't expect that much from

them behaviorally, we don't expect that much from them academically. They know that they can come in, hang around, cut a deal, get over, graduate eventually. They do it all the time, and the reason why I am speaking so strongly in favor of binding assessments for kids is that the kids need to know what we really do expect of them, and we really need to expect them to both behave reasonably on a day-to-day basis and we need to—they need to know that we expect them to be able to use their minds well, to be able to read well, to be able to read challenging material, to be able to problem solve, to communicate well; and that they are not going to graduate from high school unless they can do all of those things.

If we don't say that and hold them accountable and let them know that we are serious about it, they will continue to know that what we really expect of them is not very much. And they will continue to cut deals and they will continue to get over and continue to graduate without the skills that we want them to have.

And my experience has been, time and time again, when we set the high jump bar here, that is as high as the kids will jump. If we set it up here, they will jump that high. They respond time and time again, and that is why I think assessments, which I have spoken to most particularly this morning, are terribly important.

Mr. HAYES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Hayes.

Mr. Owens.

Mr. OWENS. Yes. Mr. Smith, I am just curious about—what is the enrollment your school?

Mr. SMITH. One thousand three hundred and fifty students, 89 percent minority.

Mr. OWENS. I came in as Dr. Slavin was describing the need for the validation or certification of certain successful approaches, effective approaches, and I am very concerned—the research and development in education is grossly underfunded. We don't have enough demonstration projects, and we haven't had enough experimentation. But on the other hand, I have a friend who is about 75 years old who has spent her whole life in the New York City School System, and she says that there is almost no proposal, new demonstration project, that she reads about or hears about that she hasn't already read about or heard about or even participated in in the past.

We seem to go in a circle and things that do succeed and seem to be effective and seem to work don't get institutionalized, validated, certified, whatever you want to call it. If that were to happen in medicine, I think the medical field would be quite alarmed, but we keep going that way in education. What do you think can happen or what things are happening?

Maybe some universities are doing some things or some things are happening. I suppose the National Diffusion Network has some role here. I wonder what you think of that. What can we do to make certain that we do institutionalize what does work, and we are not out there reinventing the wheel.

We assume that Head Start certainly is a great success, and it has been validated and we are moving to increase Head Start. There is sort of an assumption that Chapter 1 is a success because we keep re-funding it. But you worry me when you say if you allow

more flexibility with Chapter 1 funds, you worry about whether we won't end up squandering the money some ways that are really not effective.

Can you address what can be done to make certain that effective approaches in the classroom and the school level are replicated, duplicated, certified, institutionalized?

Mr. SLAVIN. I have a lovely, long answer for this. Let me try and give you a short answer.

Earlier on, I was suggesting that we—that all we need is a penny on the dollar from Chapter 1 to solve this problem. That is not all we need, but it is the—from the R&D perspective, it is all we need. What we lack in educational R&D is any—is many things, one of them is third-party evaluation, one of the things that gives people confidence in the outcome of medical research is the knowledge that the developer of a particular medical technique will—may evaluate that technique and find it to be effective, but then other people will evaluate it as well. And if you say that cold fusion works in your lab, you know that somebody else is going to test it out in their lab and it had better replicate.

In medicine, we have the FDA which ultimately certifies the safety and effectiveness of medicines and we have confidence in that process; and that makes it possible for us to know that when there is an advance in medical care in medicines or procedures, that it is a real advance. In education we have nothing like this. We have competing claims, we have—one person says, this program is effective. Somebody else says his program is effective, and some third person says theirs is effective. No educator has any justified confidence in any of those claims, because you don't know, you know, what was the quality of that research, what was the quality of that evaluation and so on.

If we are going to have real change take place, then the 75-year-old teacher that you are talking about has got to be able to say, well, I have heard about all these things and we tried several of these things, and they seem to be effective, and here is the evidence that they were really effective. That has got to be the first thing that, you know, is evidence about things that do work, things that don't work. We are not going to have responsible change until that occurs.

But that, in itself, is not enough. You also have to have more input to the set of strategies that are available. It is true that you can't have a completely original thought in education; it is utterly impossible. Everybody has thought of—there are only so many ways to teach kids, and everybody has thought about just about all of them. But we don't have a clear sense about which of them really work; and there is a lot of engineering that makes an idea into something that actually works with kids. There is work that has to be done with a particular strategy to be sure that it is going to work, that it is going to work for everybody, and that you are going to know what problems it is having and how to fix them and so on and so forth—we don't have a system for generating instructional methods, instructional procedures, and curriculum and so on—and to do that kind of engineering and make sure that the thing really is going to be implemented in a way that will make a difference. So that is something else.

Another thing we have a poor understanding of is the process of scaling up from a pilot project into a larger scale dissemination. There is a lot to learn there. There is much that we do know, but there is a great deal more we need to learn. It is not merely what is the more effective curriculum or more effective instruction or what is a more effective way of, but how to expand that from the place it was developed to other places.

What we do know about that is that the process is going to take a lot of follow-up in classrooms, a lot of visiting with teachers and giving them feedback on what they are doing in their own classrooms and schools and so on.

I think it is that we have a lot of experience ourselves with trying to scale up and take a program that has been effective on a local scale and take it somewhere else. That tells us, for example, that the best people to use in expanding a program to somewhere else are people that have implemented the programs themselves in their own schools.

Just to give you an example, we are working with the State of New Jersey to try to expand the Success for All programs. What we are trying to do is to have a responsibility for each school that is a pilot school to have them have a responsibility, after they have had a year or two of experience with the programs, to become trainers for other schools; and then those schools have a responsibility, ultimately, to become trainers for other schools, because those are the best folks to be able to expand something.

If we have the money and the commitment to see that effective programs are identified and are expanded in a way that ensures the fidelity of each one, we can do that. This is not rocket science; it really is a question of the will and the backing to make it happen.

Mr. OWENS. Is NDN a small step in that direction?

Mr. SLAVIN. The concept is right, but NDN, I think, falls down in several areas. The main problem with NDN is that the criteria for getting on the NDN list are very low. They are basically based on the investigator's own study, no third-party evaluation. A lot of programs got on that list through—by making NEC gains that turned out to be standard NEC gains for the whole Nation; and so confidence in every single one of those programs is misplaced.

However, assume now that every program on the NDN list was effective. I think that the rest of the NDN process is at least in the right direction of taking effective programs, having people whose job it is in each State to see that districts replicate those programs with some degree of fidelity.

I think that the NDN has been very effective, at least at expanding information about effective programs. But then at the next level, in terms of the providing the direct local support to make something run, the NDN has nowhere near the funding or the mission to bring that about. All they can do is to identify programs that are plausible—right now, I wouldn't say "effective," but I would say "plausible"—expand information about that and see that districts get to make a choice among these various plausible practices.

Mr. OWENS. Do the other two care to comment, and also include a comment on the role of new technology in this process? Educa-

tional—would educational film, television, videotapes, would computerization of programs help? Would more tapes help, ways in which to guarantee the programs are standardized, if you had something good, you preserve it on film? You preserve it through a computerization process, et cetera, et cetera; would that help the process at all?

Mr. SMITH. I want to first of all say, I couldn't answer the question any better than Dr. Slavin did. I just want to add maybe one footnote to that.

All of these programs, they are, they go around in cycles, and they come into your school or your district for 3 years and then they are gone, and if they are going to be institutionalized, I think the districts have to commit themselves and their dollars for no less than 10 years to any initiative that is going to come into the school system, and that the start-up money might be provided through the Federal Government or through some foundation, or whomever, for 3 years. But unless the district itself is willing to earmark money for the—for 10 years to support and institutionalize any effort, you might as well kiss it good-bye. It is not going to happen.

Just a note on technology. English High is now involved in an effort with IBM to integrate and to explore kind of the limits of technology in the classroom, and we have been involved for a couple of years and have had a lot of computers and other pieces of technology in the school for a long while; and to me, the single greatest piece of equipment in the hands of kids that has been introduced over the last 10 years, at least to schools, is the word processor, and at English High, all of our English courses—I would say, actually about 80 percent of them are taught with a bank of 20 word processors in the classroom, so the kids are writing right there all the time, editing, not just taking ideas from a teacher, but doing something with them and giving feedback. And the word processors have proven to be invaluable to the education of kids.

I think other new technology, the jury is still out.

Mr. SLAVIN. Let me just say a word about technology, and then I will let you go. I think you were asking about technology for dissemination of effective practices, technology with teachers, as well, if not—not only with students; and I think that this is extremely important that we can, I think—from my own experience, video is the most important technology. It is extremely expensive to make well, extremely expensive, and therefore most projects don't. Either they do it poorly or they don't do it at all.

I think that support for making videotapes that communicate, that walk people through the school, both at an awareness level and also at a very detailed training level, if you could see a 2-hour video in addition to a 15-minute overview, if you could see a 2-hour video of an Accelerated School working or a reading recovery program working, if you could see a variety of things that really tell you in detail, this is what this looks like in a school, that having those kinds of things available would be a major step forward in terms of having schools make an informed decision about what they want to do.

We don't want to have the Federal or local government imposing on schools, you must do this particular program. What you want

people to be doing is to be looking at a variety of programs, all known to be effective, and saying, this looks right for our school and that is not going to happen unless we have top-quality video to show them a range of options rather than just be exposed to one thing because the trainer happened to be passing through town.

Mr. OWENS. It would be a clear role for the Federal Government obviously.

Mr. SLAVIN. Right. Because there is no reason for every State or locality to replicate the same kind of process. The Federal Government is the right place for the R&D role, as well as for the dissemination of the effective-practice kind of role.

Mr. HAYES. Would the gentleman yield for just a minute? I am burning up with a question.

Mr. OWENS. Yes.

Mr. HAYES. Do you see, any of you, this move towards privatization of the public school system expanding on the access to the kind of education opportunities we talk about, particularly when you talk about technology and this kind of stuff? I have schools in my district that just got computers last year. And they spend more money on kids who go to school in suburbs versus those who go into the neighborhoods that you are talking about—on the elementary level, particularly. Do you see privatization as reducing the opportunity for disadvantaged kids or expanding upon them?

Mr. HAYES. Would the gentleman yield?

Could they deal with my simple question first? You just threw—you threw a major curve. Will you let me comment on my simple question first? Then you can——

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. I simply wanted to add to your question, when you originally posed it, I was hoping that you were not talking about standardization for adoption, but standardization for dissemination of information.

Mr. OWENS. So you have the options to look at?

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. Right, right. But I think that once the selection is made, then there is nothing that can take place.

High quality video, for instance, would be very useful in making a decision, if it were done well; if it answered all the questions that could probably emanate from viewers, then fine, but I do not think it should be—it should stop there. I do not think there is anything to replace the human interaction, and where those—where things have run, as Dr. Slavin says, the best people who can sell it to people who may be interested in implementing it are not the developers or not people from the university, they are teachers that worked in the school, that can answer the questions that school-site people will have.

Mr. OWENS. Thank you. Now you may proceed.

Chairman KILDEE. Before he proceeds, before he gets into privatization—and I could yield to him—the question I was going to ask before that, and I think you were leading to perhaps and you could ask, Mr. Hayes, is that we have a bill out on the floor, it is in the Rules Committee right now, and it is called the Neighborhood School Improvement Act. It is not the major bill going through the major reauthorization next year of all these programs, but it is an attempt to give schools some help to do some systemic changes. But one of the reasons, I have been told by the Department of Educa-

tion and by the White House, that they will veto the bill is that we do not have choice in that bill.

How much would choice help you in carrying out your responsibilities to your students? I will start with you.

Mr. SLAVIN. Gee.

Mr. HAYES. It sort of overlaps a little bit.

Mr. SLAVIN. We have in our country a terrible process of sorting out children into different schools. Basically what we have done is we have allowed, in some cases essentially encouraged by policies, middle class families to flee our large cities; and we have allowed for a variety of ways for people to sort themselves out into communities that are similar to themselves in socioeconomic status. And I think it has been a very destructive trend and one that is definitely continuing. I would hope we would not have any additional Federal policies of any kind that would continue to promote that movement.

Now, that being said—and obviously some choice proposals would do that. Some choice proposals would create a situation in which people would be able to find even more ways to get out of their local school system and to get into a school where there are more middle class—where the middle class can all flee from the schools and all attend the school together.

That being said, I think that there may be situations in which choice is a viable alternative. I do think that as apparent as it is, it is nice to be in a situation which, if you feel a school is not serving your child, you can try a different school, but I think a different school within the public system and a school in which making that move will not upset the racial balance or will not upset the socioeconomic balance of schools, but simply—where choice doesn't simply mean going to a place where there are more middle class folks, but it means that there is something distinctive about the choice you are making, that there is an interesting alternative approach that is used in a given school, as is the case essentially with magnet schools, I think that choice can be sensible.

And, similarly, with privatization, I think to the degree—it all depends on the details. To the degree that privatization means that you are creating new ways for people to flee the heterogeneous school systems, then I think that they have great dangers. To the degree that they provide new, fresh perspectives on how instruction could take place for all children, hey, more the merrier.

Chairman KILDEE. On that point, despite efforts from the administration the last 12 years to change one of the elements of magnet schools, I have always resisted their attempts. We generally try to keep an element of a racial blend, and they have always tried to omit that from the legislation. We have been successful so far in resisting.

My problem with choice is that if a student moves from School A, decides to move, or his parents or her parents decide to move from School A to School B because they perceive that School B is better, what do we do for those students who remain back at School A? That, to my mind, is one of the basic deficiencies in choice, that School A still has the same problems that may have tempted people to go to School B. Unless we address those problems, we are doing those students a real disservice.

Mr. SLAVIN. I fully agree. In fact, we have a couple of cases, I think, for the—Wayne, Indiana is the best one, where Success for All programs are being used with the leftovers, with the kids who were left behind from a magnet program. Now, the fact that they brought in Success for All, or a program like it, indicates that they were concerned with what you are concerned about, that they wanted to make sure that that didn't mean an inferior quality of education.

But it is a very serious concern. If a choice system creates a system of leftovers, I think we have real reason to be concerned.

Chairman KILDEE. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to speak out a little bit. It is also denying the fact that choice takes place like it is going out of style right now. I work in a school where I serve kids who are, to use the term, "leftovers." My kids are the kids who have been left behind, and I think my kids deserve to have a choice, a broader range of students—of schools than they presently have the opportunity to choose from.

So I am in favor of choice, but I am also in favor of choice because I would like to see the racial compositions of schools change, because I do not like the fact that the Boston public schools have public schools that service only those kids who are left behind, who are predominantly poor and minority schools; and the schools that ring the Boston public schools, either within the city or outside the city, serve students who are predominantly white.

I think that, as Dr. Slavin said, the issue is in the management and in the administration of choice plans. To me it is not in the concept. It is absolutely essential that you have choice, but when you propose that choice means giving $1,000 to people and saying, okay, now you can choose among schools, we know that we are only serving a select group of folks at that point in time, the folks who only need $1,000 to get into that school. That is not the answer at all.

But Boston is surrounded by Wayland and Weston and wealthy districts that I wish like hell my kids could have access to, or at least to have—or that we had a metropolitan system where we equalized what was shared among us and then allowed our kids to make a choice. But that also means my kids have to be provided with the transportation to get there, my kids have to be provided with the support services that it would take for them to adapt to a community that is terribly different than the community that they come from and the life experiences that they would be sharing with other kids there are dramatically different from the life experience they have had themselves.

If we provide that kind of support and those kinds of transition services to my kids, absolutely. My kids need choice. We all exercise that choice. There is probably not one of us in this room who is not exercising choice of one sort or another. I know I have. I think what we are talking about at this point in time is denying that same access for choices to the kids I serve at English High School.

Chairman KILDEE. Ms. Allen.

Ms. ALLEN-HAYNES. I guess I am very cautious about choice and privatization from the viewpoint of the type of children and families that I have spent my career working with, and that is the dis-

advantaged at risk. I am concerned about the fact that they will not have choices or not have the aggression or savvy to understand the process and make the right choices. I am afraid that they will become those that are left in the leftover schools, as they have been labeled. So I am very cautious about it.

I would rather take a wait-and-see attitude and see what it actually looks like, just from a need to be assured that there is going to be some equity in anything that might evolve.

Chairman KILDEE. Now, Mr. Hayes, we will go back to your——

Mr. HAYES. I think, Mr. Chairman, that they have each touched upon it, and I don't want to prolong this. I am interested in access to education at all levels and not be deprived because of race or economic status, you know.

I had the opportunity to visit some European schools where we compared access to education and the kind of education the kids were getting, even at the preschool level. Kids were learning how to read in some Scandinavian countries at the age of 3, and paid for by the government, too. We are behind many other countries in our educational programs, and I just want to know if you think it is a step in the right direction to try and correct that inequity that exists between here and many of the European countries, realizing that they don't have the diversity of races we have here. In some of the countries that I visited, the kids are 3 years old, so disciplined in learning how to read, even knowing when to go to sleep at school. Parents would bring them to school at 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning. They stay until they pick them up after getting off of work, 5 o'clock in the afternoon; and somewhere along the line, if we are going to catch up, we have got to do something about some of the kids that are neglected in our country because there are an awful lot of them, particularly in urban areas.

Chairman KILDEE. Mr. Owens, do you have any additional questions?

Mr. OWENS. No, thank you.

Chairman KILDEE. I want to thank the panel. We really went beyond the scope somewhat of the hearing, but to have people like yourself testifying gives us a real advantage in trying to do what is right for education in this country.

I really believe we have an opportunity in this country—and we also have a major obligation to provide education. Fiscally, because the Cold War has wound down—and I have said this so many times, but I am going to say it again because it just occurred to me, when you talked about technology and the use of television—the Pentagon never, ever used a bake sale to get its technology, right?

My son is a second lieutenant in the Army serving in the medical service area, and they use some good technology in training him, but they have never had a bake sale to buy their technology. It burns me up.

It burns me up when I see schools which are so important that we have to go out and have bake sales and sell candy bars right outside the cafeteria sometimes, right, in order to buy computers and biotechnology. There is something morally wrong when our priorities are so turned around like that. Cap Weinberger used to come here and get anything he wanted; and we would have the Secretary of Education coming over here asking—well, very often

telling us, we should stick with the OMB, Office of Management and Budget recommendations.

Weinberger used to slap the OMB directors around. He was a great advocate for more money for the Pentagon. What we need in government—in the executive branch of government, too—is advocates for education. Weinberger stole out—I remember I sold Cap Weinberger a Christmas tree one time. My two sons were in Boy Scouts, and they were selling Christmas trees; and here came Weinberger up to buy a Christmas tree, and he bought a $40 tree. But I was going to charge him $400 for it because I figure he would probably pay for it, he is so used to paying the high dollars. This one was specially grown in the mountains of Norway or something.

But we need someone in education, over in the executive branch. You know, what has the executive branch done for education in the last 12 years? I will tell you what they have done. If I have a friend who is ill, I send my friend a get well card which is nice, it is a gesture, it is an expression of my feelings, of my attitude.

But what we have seen the last few years is that what my friend really needs is the health card, the Blue Cross card to pay the bills. And what we have gotten for many years from the executive branch is a get well card for education, but not the Blue Cross card, and I am getting sick and tired of it. I really am.

All the programs you have, and you have tremendous programs in your schools, and you have done some things that are very, very encouraging, but many more dollars are still needed. We have to turn on our priorities. I—and I hope someday we will have someone over there in the Department of Education that tells OMB to take a flying leap, and we need more money than that penurious sum that you are suggesting for education.

I thank this panel—you have been very helpful. I feel like we probably will be sending you some more questions in writing and maybe contacting you again, because you have not only fed our intellect, but you have helped motivate our will to do more for education. We will keep the record open for two additional weeks for further testimony.

Thank you very much.

With that, we stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:42 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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